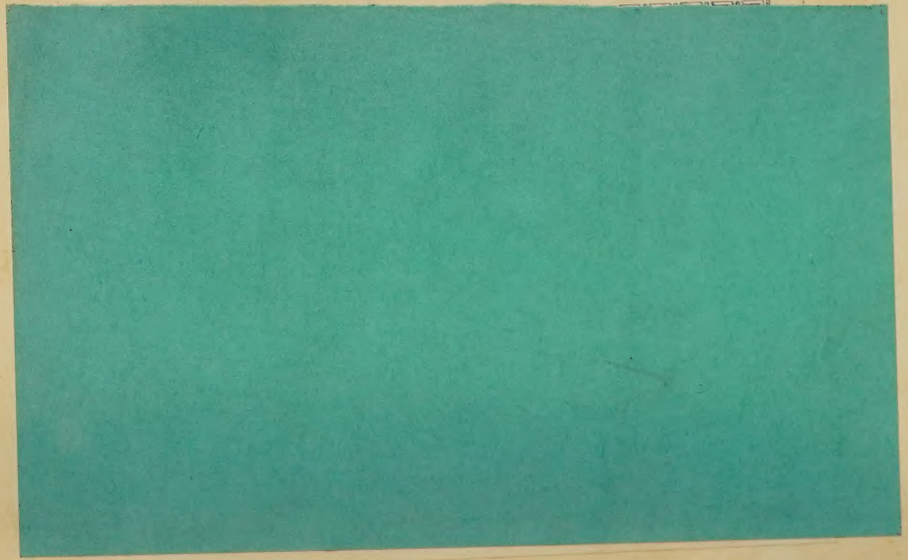
THE CRADLE OF CHRISTIANITY

S. P. T. PRIDEAUX, B.D.

Ex
Libris
William
Stirling
Claiborne



THE CRADLE OF CHRISTIANITY

OR

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE TIMES OF CHRIST

BY

S. P. T. PRIDEAUX, B.D.

RECTOR OF DOGMERSFIELD, AND LATE INCUMBENT OF CHELSEA OLD CHURCH AND DEAN OF WHITELANDS COLLEGE

WITH A FOREWORD BY

THE REV. JOHN VAUGHAN, M.A.

CANON OF WINCHESTER

NEW YORK

E. P. DUTTON & COMPANY

Campus Crusade for Christ Library

BR
123
P947
1915

FOREWORD

It is very necessary for students of the New Testament, if they would acquire an adequate knowledge of the subject, to gain a clear idea of the conditions of life in Palestine in the time of our Lord. Indeed, without such knowledge much that is contained in the four Gospels cannot be fully understood. Not only should the historical geography of the Holy Land be thoroughly grasped that a right setting may be given to the sacred narratives, but the conditions, social, political, religious, under which the inhabitants lived should be realized :— the Roman occupation, the Hebrew customs, the parties into which Judaism was divided, the Apocalyptic literature which so largely influenced the religious thought of the people.

It is in the hope of being able to present this knowledge, in a concise, and at the same time popular form, that Mr. Prideaux has been led to publish "The Cradle of Christianity." The basis of the book consists of two courses of lectures, delivered in the diocese of Winchester, under the auspices of the Society for promoting "Higher Religious Education." The little volume is admirably suited to its purpose. Nowhere, in so small a compass, do I know such a clear and scholarly account of the

1919

religious and social conditions under which Christ was born. The chapters on the Messianic Hope, on Hellenism, on Apocalyptic Literature are excellent; while the treatment of the sects and parties of the Jews reveals a full knowledge of the latest researches on the subject. I heartily recommend the little book. It should prove most useful to teachers, and students of Training Colleges, and to intelligent lay folk who wish to understand their New Testaments. May it receive the recognition it so thoroughly deserves.

JOHN VAUGHAN.

The Close, Winchester,
November, 1915.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	Conditions in Palestine in the time of our Lord —Geographical and Historical	9
II.	Roman Influence—Social Conditions ...	32
III.	The Messianic Hope	45
IV.	Hellenism and the Dispersion—"Wisdom"...	65
V.	The Apocalyptic Literature	87
VI.	The Synagogue—Sects and Parties ...	104
VII.	The Sadducees and Pharisees	123
VIII.	The Scribes and their Teaching	147
	Index	179

THE FOLLOWING ARE THE CHIEF BOOKS REFERRED TO

E. Bevan: "Jerusalem under the High Priests" (J.H.P.).
R. H. Charles: "Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament" (A. & P.).
A. Edersheim: "Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah."
W. Fairweather: "From the Exile to the Advent" (E.A.).
" "The Background of the Gospels" (B.G.).
H. Latimer Jackson: "Eschatology of Jesus."
Josephus: "Antiquities of the Jews" (Ant.).
" "The Jewish Wars" (B.J.).
" "Against Apion" (C.Ap.). Mainly from Whiston's translation.
L. A. Muirhead: "The Times of Christ."
Shailer Matthews: "A History of N.T. Times in Palestine."
Oehler: "Theology of the O.T."
W. O. E. Oesterley: "Books of the Apocrypha."
" " "Evolution of the Messianic Idea" (M.I.).
" " "The Last Things" (L.T.).
H. E. Savage: "Gospel of the Kingdom."
E. Schürer: "The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ."
Westcott: "Introduction to the Study of the Gospels."
Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible.
Encyclopædia Biblica.

N.B.—An admirable list of books relating to the subject, by H. M. Slee and E. J. Grindley, is published by the S.P.C.K.

THE CRADLE OF CHRISTIANITY

CHAPTER I

CONDITIONS IN PALESTINE

THE country with which we have to deal is small: roughly some 140 miles long by 50 miles wide; but in that small compass it exhibits a wonderful variety of both terrain, climate, and population.* All the way up the coast runs the great maritime plain, embracing ancient Philistia, the Plain of Sharon, and the Phenician coast. Inland from Philistia, and parallel with it, runs the Shephelah, or low hills. Inland again comes the mountainous ridge that stretches from the Negeb in the south, right up to the fertile plain of Esdraelon or Jezreel, the heart and centre of Israel's life all through its history. Eastward still of this, and still parallel, runs the Jordan valley, at varying ranges of depth *below* sea-level; and, beyond this, the desert. North

* A glance at a map, such as Murray's Palestine, in "Handy Classical Maps," 1s., will make this clear.

of the Plain of Esdraelon stretches rugged Galilee, reaching up to the heights of Mounts Lebanon and Hermon.

In such a country we should expect a great variety of climate, and so we find. Dr. George Adam Smith ("Historical Geography of the Holy Land," p. 56) says: "In Palestine there is every climate between the sub-tropical of one end of the Jordan valley and the sub-Alpine above the other end. There are palms in Jericho and pine forests in Lebanon. In the Ghôr, in summer, you are under a temperature of more than 100° F., and yet you see glistening the snow-fields of Hermon. All the intermediate steps between these extremes the eye can see at one sweep from Carmel—the sands and plains of the coast; the wheat-fields of Esdraelon; the oaks and sycamores of Galilee; the pines, the peaks, the snows of Anti-Lebanon." And he contrasts the sheep-skin clad shepherds of the Judaean uplands and their solid stone houses with the desert Bedawin a few miles to the east, living in tents and wearing cottons.

These variations result from the great variations in level, and from the lie of the land. The levels range from 1300 feet *below* sea-level, to 9000 feet above; and the country is affected both by the influence of the Mediterranean on one side, and the desert on the other. Temperature and weather and climate must necessarily vary greatly under such conditions; and so must occupations. Both desert and highland are dry in summer, and are fertilised only by the heavy winter rains (cf. Cant. 2^{11}). Elsewhere are "large and copious fountains," bursting forth from the foot of the hills and fertilising oases and

valleys. They are best near Mount Hermon, fair in Galilee and Samaria, and but scanty on the table-lands of Judaea. In the low-lying plains the soil is fertile, and productive of good grain crops; and the hill country is suited only for vines, olives, and other fruit trees, and the pasturing of flocks.

Together with these physical variations went, in early days, similar variety of population. We are familiar with the seven original Canaanite tribes, the Hittites, Hivites, Girgashites, Amorites, Canaanites, Perizzites, and Jebusites, with others; and Dr. G. A. Smith (p. 58) points out that Palestine has always been tenanted by a great variety of peoples, the character of the country being eminently favourable to this. In early days the separate valleys and tracts of country were always cut off from one another by the configurations of the land (we are not unfamiliar with this even in England to-day); so that many kinds of peoples could live close to one another without mixing, and tribalism and clannishness flourish. Thus, after the settlement, each of the Twelve Tribes had its own appointed territory, and there were frequent risings and feuds of one against another, as the early historical books of the Old Testament testify. Moreover, it was very far from being the case that these aboriginals were exterminated by the invading Israelites; there was always the "stranger within the gates," and inter-marriage naturally resulted, in spite and defiance of stringent commands to the contrary.

This could not fail in its effect on the national character and temperament. The wide and varied sources from

which later Israel drew its blood all conduced to catholicity and adaptability, as well as to an intense and narrow race-feeling. And when, after centuries of discipline and training the Twelve Tribes became a nation; and when the nation had gone into captivity and become a People of Dispersion, their multiform ancestry enabled them to become citizens of every country to which they went.

In origin they were Semites; and their long apprenticeship in the Arabian deserts gave them a strenuousness and determination of character, and a detachment from earthly things. In the desert, says Dr. G. A. Smith (p. 29), "seers, martyrs, and fanatics are bred"; and under these influences was fostered the austere and lofty monotheism which distinguished the Hebrew from his Canaanitish neighbour, and enabled him, though after many lapses, to resist the attractions of other forms of worship. The next stage of his life, among varieties and extremes of climate, in small communities and narrow homes, rendered him hardy and vigorous, passionate and warlike, independent and proud, versatile and persistent; his experience of the ways of God as revealed in nature taught him that God possessed moral attributes, and that behind nature was a loving, wise, and righteous Providence.

Speaking generally, Palestine may thus be compared to Wales. It has about the same extent of territory, and the same physical variations of mountain and valley, of mild and severe climate; historically the conditions of life in both countries have been in many ways similar; and the peoples of both have shared the same intense

nationalism, the same passion for religion, the same excitability and pugnacity.

It is not easy for us, who come of Western stock, and live in an age of comparative order and security, to realise and appreciate the spirit and conditions of our Lord's times. Probably the conditions obtaining in the Balkan States are the nearest parallel in modern times; for there you have the fiery, fanatical spirit, fed by religion and the tribal feeling; you have the perpetual ferment and unrest, the frequent rising and bloodshed, the intrigues and party wire-pulling. Many of us have grown up with the idea that our Lord lived a quiet, peaceable life in an obscure country village, such as might be found easily in Surrey or Hampshire, plying His carpenter's trade year in year out; meditating, perhaps rather dreamily, on His Father's Love, and nature; while round Him rolled the tide of peaceful agricultural life, unmoved as a rule by any strong feeling or activity.

But, in reality, His times were as stirring, as turbulent and stormy, as uncertain, as bloodstained, as any, perhaps, in history.* In the Roman Empire, of which Judaea was but a part, only 30 to 40 years had elapsed since the battles of Philippi and Actium, and the struggle for power between Julius Caesar, Pompey, Crassus, Mark Antony, and Octavian, and the spells cast by Cleopatra, a not-distant neighbour of Judaea. And although Octavian, now called Augustus Caesar, was

* Nor was Nazareth a "backwater"; see Edersheim, I. p. 146, ff.

firmly settled on the Imperial throne, the malcontents in the Eastern portion of his Empire had to be schooled into submission. The world then, like Europe of recent years, was an armed camp with punitive expeditions always coming and going; the civil power rested openly on the military, and in practice martial law reigned.

Those who have studied the period of history between the two Testaments (and some such study is essential to a proper understanding of the N.T.), will recollect the unhappy position in which Judaea found herself, successively the buffer-state between the world-empires of Babylon, Persia, Macedonia, Syria and Egypt, and, like Belgium and the Low Countries, the cock-pit of the East. She could not help being drawn into the politics of the time; we see the beginning of this in the Old Testament: self-preservation prompted alliances now with this power, now with that. These alliances did not always lead to self-*preservation*, and Jewish allegiance was not infrequently a *forced* allegiance. The old narrow particularism, the tribal patriotism, of the Jew, which had helped him to preserve his separate existence from early days and all through the disintegrating times of captivity, was further challenged and stiffened by such men as Antiochus Epiphanes, and under the Maccabaean rule the national independence had been gloriously defended and upheld. Be it remembered, too, that national life to the Jew was indistinguishable from what we should call Church life; patriotism and religion were to them practically convertible terms; and national defence was a matter not so much of political expediency or commercial security, as of faith and

conscience. God had given His Law to men; Israel was the chosen keeper of It; His Temple was at Jerusalem; their enemies were His enemies; and He and His Law must be defended at all costs.

In our Lord's day, they had their own rulers, certainly, though these were of Edomite stock, in which the enmity of Jacob and Esau was perpetuated; and behind these were the Romans, for the past 60 years the conquerors of their country, and for this reason the source of continual discontent, obeyed only with a sullen, grudging obedience, and because they could not be disobeyed with impunity.

Of public honour there was none. The highest in the land made regular use of bribes, intrigues, murder, as weapons of state to secure their ends; justice of a sort was done, and order of a sort maintained; but it was inspired more by expediency than by principle. The public revenues were farmed out, so that the collectors enriched themselves at the expense of the people. Domestic morality, to say the very least, was not encouraged by the example of those in the public eye.

The story of the century preceding our Lord's birth is really a most sad and pitiable account of plot and counterplot, rebellion and its punishment, open bloodshed and secret murder, intrigues and liaisons and shameless debauchery, bribes and peculations in peace, and the destruction of property and the wasting of territory in war. A graphic account is given by Josephus (A.D. 37—*c.* 95), in his "Antiquities of the Jews"; it does not occupy many pages, and is well worth the reading; an English translation is to be found in most

libraries and many houses, and may be bought at no great price.

Here is a brief outline of public events in these years, giving a very unpleasant and disturbing contrast with life as you and I have known it, at all events until the recent terrible European War.

In the year 65 B.C. there was civil war in Judaea, the Pharisees asserting the claims of Hyrcanus II. to be their High Priest and King, the Sadducees upholding his brother, Aristobulus II. Hyrcanus was at first obliged to give way; but at Antipater's instigation, he obtained help from Aretas, King of Arabia, and eventually shut up Aristobulus in the Temple, and laid siege to him.

The probable course of events was materially altered by the appearance of the Roman Pompey, who, having restored order in Asia, proceeded to Syria. His general, Scaurus, was charged with this mission, and to him the rival brothers sent the usual embassies, with the usual bribes, each amounting in this case, according to Josephus (Ant., 14. 2. 3), to 400,000 talents. The decision was given in favour of Aristobulus, who promptly attacked and defeated his brother's forces.

The next year Pompey arrived in person, and to him Aristobulus sent a golden vine, worth 500 talents, and soon after Hyrcanus sent *his* representatives and gifts. Pompey postponed his decision between the rival claimants; Aristobulus suddenly revolted, and retired to Jerusalem. Negotiations broke down, because the civil population were willing to receive Pompey, but the

soldiers absolutely refused. The Romans managed to enter the city, but could not take the Temple, until the Jews' unwillingness to fight on the Sabbath gave them a slight advantage (cf. p. 44). After three months a breach was effected, and the Temple fell. Some 12,000 Jews are said to have been killed, and Pompey himself entered the Holy of Holies; the Temple treasures, however, he left untouched. Aristobulus was taken prisoner to Rome and Hyrcanus reinstalled as High Priest. So passed the temporal power of the Maccabean house to the foreigner; and while they still possessed the high-priesthood, and a large measure of autonomy, the Jews had for ever lost their independence, and became once more a subject-people.

Our knowledge of Jewish character would not lead us to expect a calm acquiescence in the course of events. They could not, and did not, take kindly to the foreign yoke, even though it did not always press heavily. There was always smouldering the fire of revenge for the insults offered to Jehovah and to His people; there was always the innate love of freedom; there was the memory of past glories, and the promise of greater to come. The narrow, fanatical patriotism and political Messianic ideals repeatedly found expression, and as repeatedly brought the people into conflict with their new masters.

In 57 a rising was headed by Alexander, a son of the Aristobulus II. who had led the Jews in their fatal resistence to Pompey. This rising came to little, and the Romans took the opportunity to tighten their hold on the nation, reorganizing the system of government, although giving the Jews some little autonomy.

The next year, 56, Aristobulus himself, who had escaped from Rome, attempted to regain his old position. But he, too, failed, in spite of a large following and much bravery. A year later, again, his same son Alexander renewed the attempt, with like result. In the next year, 54, the Roman triumvir Crassus, always greedy of gold, robbed the Temple of 10,000 talents' worth of treasure, in order to defray the cost of his expedition against the Parthians. He was defeated by them and fell at Carrhæ; whereon the Jews again revolted, only to be again worsted by Cassius, and 30,000 of them were sold into slavery.

Now comes more and more to the fore a man whose family play a most important part in the subsequent history, Antipater, the governor of Idumea, or Edom. We have seen him helping Hyrcanus II. in his struggle with his brother; and now he is made Procurator of Judaea, 47. He was a diplomatist of the first water, and possessed extraordinary skill in ingratiating himself with other people, and in bringing delicate schemes to a successful issue. He had been of considerable assistance already to the Romans; and now, by his astuteness and his friendship with Julius Caesar, he secured considerable privileges and immunities to the Jews. He had favoured Pompey's cause in the struggle between the triumvirs; but, after Pompey's defeat at Pharsalia in 48, he changed sides, and, fortunately for the Jews, was able by his skill and his resources to render Caesar invaluable aid both in Egypt and in Syria. In return for this Caesar made him a Roman citizen and Procurator of Judaea; confirmed Hyrcanus as hereditary

High Priest; restored some of its judicial powers to the Sanhedrin; allowed Hyrcanus to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem; excused the Jews from supporting Roman troops and from supplying auxiliaries, and from paying tribute in the Sabbatical year.

Josephus (Ant., 14. 10) quotes the Roman decrees made at this time, from which the following extracts may be of interest :—

"I also ordain that he (Hyrcanus) and his children retain whatsoever privileges belong to the office of High Priest, or whatsoever favours have been hitherto granted them. And if at any time hereafter there arise any questions about the Jewish customs, I will that he determine the same. And I think it not proper that they should be obliged to find us winter quarters, or that any money should be required of them.

". . . that the Jews be allowed to deduct out of their tribute every second year [in the Sabbatic period] a corus of that tribute, and that the tribute they pay be not let to farm, nor that they pay always the same tribute.

". . . that all the country of the Jews, excepting Joppa, to pay a tribute yearly for the city of Jerusalem, excepting the seventh, which they call the Sabbatical year, because therein they neither receive the fruit of their trees, nor do they sow their land; . . . and that they pay the same tithes to Hyrcanus and his sons which they paid to their forefathers. And that no one, neither president nor lieutenant nor ambassador, raise auxiliaries within the bounds of Judaea, nor may soldiers exact money of them for winter quarters, or under

any other pretence, but that they may be free from all sorts of injuries ; and that whatsoever they shall hereafter have, and are in possession of, or have bought, they shall retain them all.

" It does not please me that such decrees should be made against our friends and confederates, whereby they are forbidden to live according to their own customs, or to bring in contributions for common suppers and holy festivals, while they are not forbidden to do so even at Rome itself ; . . . accordingly, when I forbid other Bacchanal rioters, I permit these Jews to gather themselves together, according to the customs and laws of their forefathers, and to persist therein. It will be therefore good for you that if you have made any decree against these our friends and confederates, to abrogate the same, by reasons of their virtue, and kind disposition towards us.

" . . . because they are not allowed to bear arms or to travel on the Sabbath days, nor there (*i.e.* in the Roman armies) to procure themselves those sorts of food which they have been used to eat from the times of their forefathers, I do therefore grant them a freedom from going into the army, . . . and permit them to use the customs of their forefathers, in assembling together for sacred and religious purposes, as their law requires, and for collecting oblations necessary for sacrifices."

Undoubtedly Antipater procured indulgences for the Jews, but they could never forget that he was an Edomite ; the old quarrel of Jacob and Esau, true to Jewish vindictiveness, had never been allowed to die down ; the hostility of Edom at the time of the Exodus,

and their conduct at the fall of Jerusalem in the Babylonish captivity, were never forgotten (cf. Ps. 137[7]). He was a foreigner; he was also a friend of the Roman; he was too clever to be trusted; presently open hostility was shown him; and in 43 he was poisoned.

He had appointed two of his sons to important positions under him, Phasael to be Governor of Jerusalem, and Herod of Galilee. The latter, destined to figure large on the stage of Jewish history as Herod the Great, was a worthy son of his father, and commenced to distinguish himself at an early age. There was near his jurisdiction a large robber-band, the plague of it and the adjoining parts of Syria. Herod energetically attacked and routed them, capturing and executing their leader, and killing many of their number. But the Jewish leaders viewed with disfavour the growth and power of Antipater's family, and they arraigned Herod before the Sanhedrin on a technical charge of exceeding his powers; for the Sanhedrin alone could pronounce a sentence of death, and this only after due trial.

On his father's advice Herod obeyed the summons; but came attended by a considerable bodyguard. This, and an intimation from the Roman governor of Syria, caused a delay of the sentence, of which Herod took advantage and fled to Syria. His hot spirit inclined him to take active revenge on the Sanhedrin, but he was dissuaded by his father and brother.

The public atmosphere was neither peaceful nor happy, with the twin causes of unrest in the factions operating in Roman and Jewish internal affairs. In

43, after the murder of Julius Caesar, Herod characteristically wins the favour of Cassius, who gives him the command of Syria, with both naval and land forces at his disposal. In this year the old dispute between the rival branches of the Hasmonean or Maccabean dynasty breaks out again; Antipater, as already noticed, is poisoned, and open risings occur. Herod and Phasael manage to hold their own; and when, in 42, after the battle of Philippi, Antony comes to settle affairs, Herod, with his usual bribes and his usual skill, wins the favour of Antony; he and his brother are made tetrarchs, with full political power. The house of Antipater is thus confirmed in its position by the Roman, and Herod does his best to heal the breaches in the Jewish nation, by betrothing himself to Mariamne. This lady was descended from both the rival branches, and by the marriage Herod himself was allied with the Maccabean line, although his action amounted to a confession of the weakness of his own claim to his position.

And Herod was by no means secure yet. Antony soon became occupied, politically and otherwise, with Cleopatra, and in 40 Antigonus, son of Aristobulus II. Mariamne's uncle, bribed the Parthians to make him King. They appeared before Jerusalem, secured Phasael and Hyrcanus the High Priest, by treachery, plundered the city, and left Antigonus installed as King and High Priest. Herod, warned by Phasael, just managed to escape, and eventually found his way to Rome. Here he persuaded both Antony and Octavian to support him, and the Senate decreed him King of the Jews. He returned at once to claim his kingdom, and, thanks to the

marauds of the Parthians, received a welcome from many of his subjects, especially in Galilee. But Antigonus was gaining power ; and it took Herod two years of plotting and scheming and manœuvring and fighting, before he could take Jerusalem, capture Antigonus, and finally end the Hasmonean rule. Some forty-five of the Sadducean party, who had favoured Antigonus, Herod at once executed ; and at the same time he courted the good will of the Pharisees ; they were not professed and active politicians like the Sadducees, and at least would not hinder him. Antigonus he persuaded Antony to have beheaded ; and from this date the civil and religious authority are finally separated, the Jewish rulers for the past century having been both High Priests and Kings. The Hasmonean family still exists ; and their intrigues and Herod's relation to them oblige him to instal the young Aristobulus, brother to Herod's wife Mariamne and sole male heir of the Hasmoneans, as hereditary High Priest. But, shortly afterwards, Herod manages to have him drowned while bathing, himself protesting loudly and making great profession of grief at this intentional " accident." (35)

Herod's family now begin to plot and scheme against him, the arch-intriguers being Alexandra the mother of Mariamne, and Herod's sister Salome, the latter poisoning Herod's mind with doubts as to Mariamne's fidelity to him, his wife to whom he seems to have been really attached. In spite of Alexandra's machinations and Cleopatra's demands, Herod retains Antony's favour ; and he also successfully prosecutes a war against the King of Arabia.

In 31 was fought the battle of Actium, in which Octavian defeated Antony and Cleopatra. Matters might now have gone ill for Herod; but his power and reputation, together with his skill and daring, induced Octavian to retain him as the ally of Rome and confirm him in his kingdom. His domestic troubles increased more and more; in 29 he executed Mariamne, on a false charge of trying to poison him. He fell ill, and became mad with grief at what he had done; whereat Alexandra plotted to recover the kingdom for herself and her grandsons, only to follow Mariamne. In 25 a number of others, possibly dangerous, were also put to death. No wonder that Augustus said, "It were better to be Herod's pig than his son."

For the next twelve years Herod had no rival, and the peace of the empire was assured, under the rule of Octavian, now called Augustus. Herod takes this opportunity to consolidate and build up his kingdom, and ingratiate himself still more with his Imperial master. The ravages of the previous wars and rebellions are repaired; old cities and fortresses are restored; and new ones built. These not all without design; and they are used for the purpose of rendering his own position more secure, and to preserve the balance of parties in an always turbulent and factious people. Thus Samaria is rebuilt and enlarged, and called Sebaste (=Augusta) as a compliment to the Emperor; and the neighbourhood colonised with his veteran troops, who, with the native Samaritans, act as a check on the disaffected spirits of Jerusalem. Other strongholds form a barrier on the north-east or Syrian border, and against

Arabia in the south. At Caesarea, now so called for the first time, a magnificent harbour is constructed. His territories are from time to time increased by Augustus. His cities are embellished with fine buildings and works of art. Theatres and amphitheatres are built, Greek games and gladiatorial shows are introduced, with other foreign and Gentile customs. In Jerusalem itself he builds a palace for his own use, and commences to restore and complete the Temple.

There can be no doubt that in many ways Herod's rule was most beneficial, and, but for his unscrupulous methods and his domestic record, he would have earned his title of "the Great." His public works, although due to his passion for display, were amazingly extensive, and must have added enormously to the wealth and well-being of his subjects. His activity was endless, and his action prompt. His skill in governing his headstrong people, and preserving friendship with Augustus, to say nothing of the manœuvrings and diplomacy by which he attained his position, all bespeak abilities and energies of no mean order. He was a strict ruler and suppressed disorder with a firm hand, and reduced the robber-bands which overran the mountainous district of Trachonitis. When a famine occurred in 24, 50,000 men were employed on public works; his own furniture and plate he sold for the benefit of the sufferers; on two occasions he remitted part of the taxes.

He was not popular; such a man could never win his people's love; he could only inspire fear and respect, and some grudging gratitude. He was, above all

things, a diplomatist; he played off one party against another, and kept the favour of all by occasional concessions and benefactions. These could not be denied, and were usually substantial; and they were effective to prevent opposition and grievances from becoming serious. But no one can have credited him with sincerity. He cajoled the Jews by his personal respect for the Law and the Temple, for their opinions and prejudices; by his generosity and public services; by his rebuilding of the Temple. But the heart was taken out of all these actions by his love of Gentile customs; by the games and sports which he introduced; by temples in his new cities; by the pagan trophies which he erected in Jerusalem; and, above all, by the golden eagle which he erected over the main gate of the Temple, a most wanton and obvious insult. He was always suspicious and jealous, unscrupulous and selfish, and maintained an army of spies and secret agents; at times he even went about himself disguised among his people.

The following extracts from Josephus may be of interest:—

"He was brutish, and a stranger to all humanity. . . . a man ambitious of honour, and quite overcome by that passion, he was induced to be magnificent, wherever there appeared any hopes of a future memorial or of reputation at present." (Ant., 16. 5. 4.)

"A man he was of great barbarity towards all men equally, and a slave to his passions; but above the consideration of what was right: yet was he favoured by fortune as much as any man ever was, for from a private

man he became a king ; and though he were encompassed with ten thousand dangers, he got clear of them all, and continued his life to a very old age." (Ant., 17, 8. 1.)

" Now Herod had a body suited to his soul, and was ever a most excellent hunter, where he generally had good success, by means of his great skill in riding horses ; for in one day he caught forty wild beasts ; . . . He was also such a warrior as could not be withstood : many men therefore there are who have stood amazed at his readiness in his exercises, when they saw him throw his javelin directly forward, and shoot the arrow upon the mark." (B. J., 1. 21. 13. ; cf. 11, 12.)

Playgoers will remember the drama of Herod's life by Mr. Stephen Phillips, which gives a vivid picture of his character and some of the scenes in his life.

We need not pursue the last years of his reign of thirty-seven years in detail. Unluckily for him, his two sons by Mariamne, Aristobulus and Alexander, grew up, and became the centre of fresh family jealousies and intrigues, with Antipater, his eldest son by another wife, the succession to the throne being the cause of the dissension. For ten or twelve years the trouble continued, and was aggravated by a rebellion in Trachonitis, which led Herod into war with Arabia, and lost for him Augustus' friendship for the time being. At home Antipater plotted incessantly, also his own brother, Pheroras. In the words of Dr. Fairweather, " His heart became a hell within him, his home a howling wilderness, and his whole existence a nightmare." Or, to quote

Josephus : " These suspicions afflicted him, and becoming more and more uneasy, he believed everybody against everybody . . . he was overrun with suspicion and hatred against all about him. . . . What more can be said, but that those who before were the most intimate friends, were become wild beasts to one another ; . . . and a melancholy solitude rendered the kingdom deformed, and quite the reverse to that happy state it was formerly in." (Ant., 16. 7. 3 ; 8. 2, 5.)

One person after another suffered the penalty of his suspicion or their own dishonesty ; the painful and horrible disease which had been growing on him grew worse ; and five days after the death of Antipater his own end came. Knowing that the Jews would not lament his death, with characteristic and fiendish care he arranged for a public massacre, so as to secure the mourning which would not otherwise have been made. Happily, his orders were not carried out.

After his death the intrigues did not cease, and it was the signal for an outburst of disorder. The golden eagle over the Temple Gate was torn down (this, actually, before Herod's death), and the people demanded vengeance for the punishment meted out to the ring-leaders. Three thousand perished in the suppression of this disturbance, at the Passover ; and at Pentecost hostilities began again in the Temple, this second rising only being put down with great slaughter. The census under Quirinius was accompanied with opposition and bloodshed. In fact, from now began the steady rise of the fanatical, politico-Messianic movement, often finding spasmodic expression, and associated chiefly

with the party of the Zealots, which led to the final outburst, and downfall of the nation, in the years A.D. 66–70. (See Jos., Ant., 17. 10. 1 ff.)

We are now in a position to understand a little of the atmosphere into which our Lord was born, and in which He lived and taught, and to appreciate some of the allusions to contemporary events made by the writers of the New Testament.

Of Herod's craft, cruelty, and methods we have an excellent example in the incident of the visit of the Magi and the massacre of the Holy Innocents. The mention of a king born to the Jews at once arouses his fear; he consults the Jewish authorities; pretends sympathy with the Magi; and, when foiled, kills outright all the possible male infants in Bethlehem.

Pictures of court life are given in the accounts of Herod Antipas (his son) and his relations with Herodias and her daughter, and the murder of St. John Baptist. "The rulers of the Gentiles lord it over them," in contrast to which the Christian ruler is to be servant of all (Mt. 20^{25}); the Jews looked for the seats of honour on the Messiah's right and left hand in His kingdom (Mt. 20^{21}), but the greatest in the Kingdom of Heaven are those who turn, humble themselves, and become as little children (Mt. 18^{1}). Herod Antipas is named by Christ "that fox" (Lk. 13^{32}); and the visit of Archelaus (possibly also of Herod the Great and of Antipas) to Rome "to receive a kingdom" furnishes a text for the parable of the pounds (Lk. 19^{12}). The "nobleman" kills his rebellious subjects on his return; stewards are

sufficiently unjust to form the subject of another parable (Lk. 16^1, 20^9); and judges "fear not God nor regard man" (Lk. 18^2).

In the public mind Messianism and nationalism were one and the same thing. The disciples ask, even at the end of all things, if Jesus is now about to restore the kingdom to Israel (Acts 1^6); during His ministry He has repeatedly to contend with the attempts of the people to "come with force and make Him a king" (Jn. 6^{15}). Risings and their frequency are alluded to by Gamaliel, when discussing what to do with the arrested Apostles (Acts 5^{35}); Barabbas had taken part in one such, which had led to bloodshed. Christ said that He came to send "not peace, but a sword" (Mt. 10^{34}). "Wars and rumours of wars" are foretold by Christ, and the betrayal of parents by children and children by parents (Mt. 24^6, 10^{21}). Robbers are frequent on the road from Jerusalem to Jericho (Lk. 10^{30}). Pilate had forcibly suppressed a rising in Galilee during some feast, and had "mingled their blood with their sacrifices" (Lk. 13^1). Caiaphas objects to arresting Him during the feast, "lest there be a tumult among the people" (Mt. 26^5). The disciples were ready to defend Christ with arms, and St. Peter actually commenced to do so (Lk. 22^{49}). This had been expected by the authorities, and a considerable force of armed men attended Judas (Jn. 18^3). An armed Levitical guard always garrisoned the Temple, something like the Papal guard at Rome; and when St. Paul had been forcibly rescued by the Roman troops, stationed in Fort Antonia, from the fury of the populace, and was

sent to Caesarea, his escort consisted of no fewer than 200 infantry, 200 spearmen or light infantry, and 70 mounted men (Acts 5^{26}, 23^{23}).

A strange background this to the teaching of the Beatitudes: "Blessed are the meek, the poor in spirit, the merciful, the peacemakers, they that hunger and thirst after righteousness," "Resist not him that is evil," "Love your enemies." The greatest in the Kingdom of Heaven must be servant of all. The disciples, St. James and St. John, are rebuked for calling down divine vengenace on the Samaritans (Lk. 9^{54}). No wonder that people could not make Him out, and failed in their allegiance to Him.

CHAPTER II

ROMAN INFLUENCE—SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Public order and control was, according to Roman policy—a policy wisely followed by the British Empire in modern times—left in the hands of native and local rulers, when they could be trusted, with the Imperial power and armed forces to fall back on, if required. Herod the Great, *e.g.* was a "King ally," with the right of coining money and raising troops. The latter might only be of sufficient strength for policing purposes; and further forces might be demanded as auxiliaries in time of war; a tribute was generally payable, and large gifts expected towards the Imperial coffers. Thus the condition of the people depended very largely on the personal character of their ruler, as well as on the relations existing between the nation and the Emperor. During the last century B.C. and the first century A.D., the form of government and administration was repeatedly changed, the only constant factor being the Roman power and authority behind all.

The Jews fared better than most other nations; and their known character for turbulence and desperate resistance when oppressed, and the skill of their rulers, obtained for them everywhere great concessions and

privileges. They were allowed to live under their own laws; were often excused taxes, and allowed to collect their own taxes for Temple purposes; they were often exempt from military service; their scruples about the Sabbath were respected; and their religious funds and property protected. (Cf. Jos., Ant., 14, 10. 2, quoted above, p. 19; and 16. 2. 3; 6. 1 ff.)

It is easy to see how this treatment encouraged and fostered the peculiar national spirit of the Jews, so marked a characteristic of their race down to the present day.

Everywhere in the New Testament the Roman rule meets us. St. Luke gives a list of the governors at the time of the commencement of our Lord's ministry, and the census during which He was born was carried out under Roman orders, Quirinius being Governor of Syria, and charged with it, and the census also being made on the Jewish tribal basis, according to the Roman practice of using local methods and conciliating local feeling. (This is why Joseph and Mary had to make their long journey from Nazareth to Bethlehem.) In the account of the Passion, and in the Acts, the Romans figure largely: the centurions and the soldiers; Pilate the Procurator of Judaea, who comes into Jerusalem at the Passover with his troops, so as to preserve order; Herod Antipas, the Jewish Tetrarch of Galilee; Felix, and Porcius Festus, the Procurators of Judaea, with their forces and authority. Roman justice, otherwise strict and good, is not well illustrated by Pontius Pilate nor by Felix; but this defection must be attributed more to the men than to the system. The

centurions, as has often been pointed out, are uniformly well spoken of; the servant of one was healed by Christ, and our Lord said He had "not found so great faith, even in Israel" (Matt. 8^{5}); this man was friendly to the Jews and had built them their Synagogue in Capernaum. At the Crucifixion the heart of the centurion in charge was touched; the Sufferer on the Cross was offered by some of the soldiers sour wine to quench His thirst; and His death drew from the centurion's lips an expression of something very near the ascription of divinity. Cornelius (Acts 10^{1}) was a devout and sincere adherent of the Jewish synagogue at Caesarea, popular and well-reported of. The centurion who rescues St. Paul in Jerusalem is afraid of what may happen when he learns that he has bound a Roman citizen and is about to scourge him. St. Paul's right of appeal to Caesar is unhesitatingly accepted; and Julius, the centurion who has charge of him, treats him with consideration and indulgence. (Acts 22^{29}, 26^{32}, $27^{1, 3, 43}$.) We gather that jurisdiction was summary, and that the authorities had the right of impressing or commandeering the services of civilians; as in the case of Simon of Cyrene at the Crucifixion, and cf. the allusion in Mt. 5^{41}. The soldiery, as in every age until the present, bore a reputation for violence (Lk. 3^{14}); this, too, is illustrated by the Passion. They, like every one else, could be bribed. (Mt. 28^{12}, Acts 24^{26}, Jos., Ant., 14. 12. 1, 2; Matthews, pp. 93, 110, 113.)

With corruption prevailing in high places, and with bakhsheesh (on a grand scale) as a recognised business method, it is not surprising to find a low standard of

public honesty ; the general depravity and luxuriousness of society at the time would encourage covetousness, and with it dishonesty. The publicans, or officials of the Imperial revenues, through whom the taxes and imposts were farmed out, were practically encouraged in dishonesty by the system, which required them to send up so much to headquarters, paid them no salary, but left it to them to get what living they could by overcharging those from whom the taxes were due. These men, to the lower order of whom belonged St. Matthew and Zacchaeus, were naturally everywhere most unpopular, and were classed with " sinners " in the current phraseology. Their avarice, vexatious interferences, and exactions, and their position as servants of the Romans, all combined to embitter the population against them (Lk. 3^{13}, 19^{7}).

The population of Palestine has been estimated at about three millions, living in an area of 6000 square miles on the west of Jordan, but such estimates are very difficult to make. Thus Dr. Shailer Matthews gives the Jerusalem population as 100,000, and Dr. Edersheim as twice that number or more. Small towns and villages abounded, and must have lain close to each other ; in Galilee alone, says Josephus (Life, 45) there were 240 cities and villages ; and the country was very fertile, so much so, he says, as even to provoke the lazy to cultivate it and reap its rich returns (B. J., 3. 3. 2). Here is part of his description of it : " Its nature is wonderful, as well as its beauty ; its soil is so fruitful that all sorts of trees can grow upon it, and the inhabitants accordingly plant all sorts of trees there ;

for the temper of the air is so well mixed that it agrees very well with those several sorts, particularly walnuts, which require the coldest air, flourish there in vast plenty; there are palm-trees also, which grow best in hot air; fig-trees also and olives grow near them, which yet require an air that is more temperate. One may call this place the ambition of nature, where it forces those plants that are naturally enemies to one another to agree together; it is a happy contention of the seasons, as if every one of them laid claim to this country; for it not only nourishes different sorts of autumnal fruits beyond men's expectations, but preserves them a great while; it supplies men with the principal fruits, with grapes and figs, continually, during ten months of the year, and the rest of the fruits as they become ripe; together through the whole year: for besides the good temperature of the air, it is also watered from a most fertile fountain." (B. J. 3. 10. 8—a passage which throws light on Mk. 11^{13}).

In fact, Palestine as a whole was very fertile and prosperous (Ant., 15. 5. 1), and in Herod's time the building, and the luxury of the aristocracy, must have occasioned ample employment and circulation of money. In all ages the Jews have been keen traders and shrewd hands at a bargain; and in the merchant-classes there must have been not a few incomes more than comfortable.

No fewer than 118 imports of different kinds have been identified, and the prices of some of these were high. Thus a cloak might cost £36; silk fetched its weight in gold; purple wool £3 5*s*. 0*d*. a pound, and if

double-dyed, almost ten times as much. But living was cheap. A slave could be fitted out for 18*s.*, and a citizen from £3 to £6. This was also the price of an ass, ox, and cow; a horse fetched a little more; a goat fetched 5*s.* and 6*s.*; a calf 15*s.* and under; a sheep 4*s.* to 16*s.*; a lamb sometimes as little as 2*d.* Corn, fruit, wine and oil cost little; meat was only 1*d.* a lb. A small unfurnished lodging could be obtained for 6*d.* a week; and the rate of wages for unskilled labour was 7½*d.* a day. (*See* Edersheim, I. p. 116, and cf. p. 129 ff.)

There were few class distinctions amongst the Jews, and fewer than in contemporary Greco-Roman life. In the villages, slaves, freemen and employers were the usual grades; and, in the towns, there were also the priestly families, the Rabbis, the rulers, and the wealthy. Of the latter, who lived in ostentatious luxury, Dives is a type; and St. James passes severe strictures on them as a class. Slavery was decreasing, and both Pharisees and Essenes were opposed to it. Women enjoyed a considerable amount of freedom and status, but were always regarded as an inferior sex. "The world cannot exist without males and females," said one Rabbi, "but blessed are they whose children are sons, and woe to them whose children are daughters." Marriage and family life were highly praised and upheld by the Rabbis. Among the wealthy it was occasionally the habit to have more than one wife (Jos., Ant., 17. 1. 2), but as a rule few men had more than one. Divorce was easy, and this rendered polygamy unnecessary. Large families were looked on as a blessing and sign of the

Divine favour; and the absence of children was a reproach. (Lk. 1^{25}, ^{36}, cf. Gen. 30^{23}, I. Sam. 1^{6}, Ps. 113^{9}, Isa. 4^{1}.)

Child-life played a large part in the thoughts and interests of the nation, and great pains were taken with their training and education. "By the breath from the mouth of school-children the world is sustained," said one Rabbi (Shabb. 119. b.) and it was the prime duty of the parents to attend to the education of their children. (Prov. 1^{8}, 4^{1}, 6^{20}, 13^{1}, 30^{17}, Sir 30^{1-13}.) Says Josephus, "Our chief care is to educate our children well; and we think it to be the most necessary business of our whole life, to observe the laws that have been given us, and to keep those rules of piety that have been delivered down to us." Men of other nations, he claims (2. 19), are ignorant of their own laws, and even the government officials need assessors to instruct them; but Jews know their Law better even than their own names, "because we learned them immediately as soon as ever we became sensible of anything, and have them as it were engraven on our souls" (cf. 2. 26). "The Law ordains that the very beginning of our education should be immediately directed to sobriety. It also commands us to bring those children up in learning, and to exercise them in the laws, and make them acquainted with the acts of their predecessors, in order to their imitation of them, and that they might be nourished up in the laws from their infancy, and might neither transgress them, nor have any pretence for their ignorance of them." (C. Apion, 1. 12.)

The words of Philo (Ad Caium, 31) are equally

eloquent: "We esteem our laws as Divine revelations, and are instructed in the knowledge of them from our earliest youth, so that we carry the image of the commands in our souls. We are taught, so to speak, from our swaddling clothes, by parents and teachers and instructors, to recognise the one God as our Father, and the Maker of the world."

It is evident at once that, to the Jew, education and religion were practically coterminous. As nothing in life was devoid of its religious significance, so religion covered all essentials in the training of the young. "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and the knowledge of the Holy One is understanding." (Prov. 9^{10}.) The golden age was to come, when all the earth should be "full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea." (Isa. 11^{9}; and cf. Jer. 31^{34}.) From the tenderest age a boy bore his part in the worship of the Temple and Synagogue. At the eighth day he was circumcised and received his name with solemn formality (Lk. 1^{59}); later, he was dedicated to God at the hands of the priest (Lk. 2^{22}). Another ceremony took place at his weaning. As soon as he could understand he would become familiar with the family prayers, the Sabbath observances, the festival celebrations, Purim, the Passover, the Feast of Weeks, the Day of Atonement; his boyish spirits would revel in the merry-makings and the Bohemianism of the Feast of Tabernacles; and the parents would explain the meaning and significance of each as they came round (cf. Exod. 12^{26}, $13^{8, 14}$, Jos. 4^{6}); and even the very young were required to attend the observances if possible (cf.

Lk. 2^{42}). With the arrival of speech he would be taught the Shema (Deut. 6^{4-9}, 11^{13-21}, Num. 15^{37-41}) and other simple texts, hymns, psalms, and prayers. (Cf. the home life of Timothy, 2 Tim. 3^{15}.) Discipline was severe, if certain passages are to be taken as typical: "He that spareth his rod hateth his son; but he that loveth him chasteneth him diligently" (Prov. 13^{24}; cf. 19^{18}, 22^{15}, 23^{13}, $29^{15, 17}$); but it was allowed that "a rebuke entereth deeper into one that hath understanding than an hundred stripes into a fool" (17^{10}).

At the age of six or thereabouts he was sent to school, schools existing almost certainly in the time of Christ in every town and good-sized village; later tradition said that it was unlawful to live out of reach of a school (Sanh. 17 b), and a city without a school was to be excommunicated. Schools were kept by regular teachers and Rabbis, at first probably in their own houses (cf. Sir. 6^{36}; Aboth. 1^{4}), where the pupils sat in a semicircle at the feet of their teachers (Acts 22^{3}; Lk. 2^{46}, 10^{39}). Later, regular school-houses would come to be built (perh. cf. Acts 19^{9}), in close connection with the Synagogues, the natural centre of all the teaching. The teaching was under the control of the "teachers of the Law" (Lk. 5^{17}), *i.e.* members of the great body of Scribes, and delivered partly by them and partly by the Chazzān, answering to our elementary schoolmasters. Higher education for a selected few was given in colleges called "Houses of the Midrash," where deeper and more technical instruction in the Law was given.

In all cases the precious Law was the medium of

instruction, and the sole aim of education was its knowledge and practice—("Our law-giver included in his legislation the entire conduct of their lives, and brought it so to pass that those that were made acquainted with his laws did most carefully observe them," Jos., C. Apion, 2. 16); all mental training and ability were to come incidentally with it. Up to the age of ten the Old Testament was the text-book (cf. Edersheim, I. p. 232); and from ten to fifteen the Mishnah or traditional Law. The higher courses of study after this were for only those who showed proper aptitude. In the books of Proverbs, Sirach, and the "Sayings of the Fathers" (Pirke Aboth) we have interesting manuals of education, describing its aims and its methods. Every boy was also taught a trade—Saul of Tarsus had learned to weave the coarse *cilicium* out of which tents were made (Acts 18^3); and there were bodies approaching the nature of trades-unions or guilds, which would interest themselves in this.

Much of the teaching was by heart, and mnemonic devices were employed to facilitate this, such as the acrostic (cf. Psalms 9, 10, 25, 34, 37, 111, 112, 119, 145; Lam. 1–4; Prov. 31^{10-31}; Sir. 51^{13-30}), and the numerical proverb (Prov. 30^{15} ff., Aboth, 5).

The education of girls was on similar lines, but learning for girls was not encouraged. They must certainly be familiar with the elements of the Law and worship, it was held, but not with the deeper knowledge or secular subjects. The ideal for them was naturally and properly domestic (cf. Prov. 31^{10} ff.), of which Martha is the type. (Cf. Westcott on Jn. 4^{27}.)

Jewish upbringing may be stigmatised as narrow; but at least it left its pupils familiar with a remarkable literature and with a knowledge of their nation's history; and what was really important, the moral and religious element was not separated from the secular instruction, but insisted on as both the source and aim of education, so that the pupils were both saved from the conceit of mere knowledge and mental facility, and received in its place a sense of the Divine providence controlling human affairs, with a sense of vocation and responsibility.

Thus the entire atmosphere of Jewish life was religious, and the Scribes occupied themselves with applying the Law to all the possible contingencies of everyday life. But it is clear that the effect on the habits and character of the population was not as great as might have been expected. Not many saints were produced, and the sense of the Divine providence and vocation did certainly react and produce in the nation as a whole an intense contempt for other peoples, and an arrogant pride in their own position as God's Chosen. Experience of human nature in our day shows that of the many who are called it is only the few whose hearts are awakened and choose to respond to the call. Religion with us is so largely a veneer, a habit; it was not less so with the Jew. Arguing from the fact of his being of the Chosen People, of the seed of Abraham, he concluded that he had only to wait and walk into his inheritance in the kingdom; it did not depend much upon his own behaviour, so long as he did what he was

told, and kept the observances prescribed by the Law. His thoughts seldom went beyond this world. Its activities and needs were sufficient to occupy him, and its pleasures sufficient attraction; his hope was little more than a rabid nationalism, and the scene of the kingdom when it should come was Jerusalem, restored to his nation, the rightful owners, and the triumphant objects of the world's deferential homage and tribute.

Of religion in the true sense there was little, if of religious observance there was much. If the Pharisees, the professed leaders of the nation's conscience, could deserve so scathing and unsparing a condemnation as that recorded in Mt. 23, we should not expect great devotion and spirituality from their followers. Religion among the Jews, *taken as a whole*, was a really pathetic thing, the straining at gnats and the swallowing of camels. The highest teaching of the Rabbis was very high, and out of it was born and developed Christianity; but the things that mattered, apparently, were the tithing of mint and anise and cummin, and petty technical regulations. Wherever insistence is made on the outside of religion, and the letter of the Law made important, as in Romanism and its imitators, there is always the danger of stifling the spirit and perverting the energies, the risk of exhibitions of moral misconceptions, which would be ludicrous were they not pitiful, and even tragic.

Of this Judaism was an extreme example. They might swear by the Temple, or the Altar; but they might not swear by the gold of the Temple nor the gift on the Altar. Money might be formally dedicated to

God's service as Corban, so as to veto a parent's claim on it for maintenance, and then taken and used by the owner as if nothing had happened. A tailor was enjoined to look carefully and remove all needles from his coat on a Friday, lest he should break the Law by "bearing a burden on the Sabbath day." It was this over-punctilious respect for the Sabbath that helped the taking of Jerusalem by Pompey (cf. p. 17). The Jews refused to fight on the Sabbaths, so that the Romans used these days to perfect their siege-works unmolested (Jos., Ant., 14. 4. 2); an incident which may have been in our Lord's mind when He warned them to pray that their flight from Jerusalem in the next siege be not "on the Sabbath." (Mt. 24^{20}; cf. the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, when many Jews had allowed themselves to be slaughtered, because they would not even defend themselves on the Sabbath: Jos., Ant., 12. 6. 2.) A village might call itself a town, when it could prove that ten men regularly attended the Synagogue service, and there were usually ten men kept in fee in order to preserve the qualification. The population generally was indifferent to the appeal of religion, or anything save political excitement; they were like children in the market-place, who could be induced to join in none of their playmates' games. (Mt. 11^{16}; cf. Muirhead, pp. 57 ff, 86 ff.)

CHAPTER III

THE MESSIANIC HOPE

No estimate of Judaism is complete without some reference, at the least, to the Messianic hope; indeed, it was this from which Judaism drew its chief inspiration and power, and coloured the whole of its religious belief and practice. One of the most remarkable features of the Old Testament is its persistent faith and hope; the eyes of writers, even in the darkest days, are ever fixed on the future, in rapt and confident expectation; the Golden Age for them is yet to come, in contrast to the regrets of heathen writers. No Jew could ever have written Horace's dismal lines:

> Aetas parentum pejor avis tulit
> Nos nequiores, mox daturos
> Progeniem vitiosiorem.
> (Od. 3. 6. 46.)

The Fourth Eclogue of Virgil is much more in their spirit. And this note of hopefulness is sounded at the very outset of the Old Testament after the unhappy account of the misuse by Adam and Eve of their opportunities, where it is promised to Eve's seed that it shall bruise the serpent's head. (Gen. 3^{15}.)

Not long after this appears the note of selection or

choice, with its attendant promises. At the time of the Flood, Noah is preserved because of his faithfulness to God, when all else are destroyed for their wickedness; and on the subsiding of the waters God makes a covenant with him, promising the due succession of seedtime and harvest, and that no similar overwhelming should again take place. (Gen. 6^{8}, 8^{22}, 9^{13}.) With Abraham the promises take a wider connotation. In him and his seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed, and he is to be "the father of a multitude of nations." (12^{3}, 17^{4}, cf. 15^{5}, 18^{10}, 22^{15}.) Abraham's history is a parable of faith, with his journeys out of his father's country and from place to place, and his gift of a son in his old age. The promises are continued to Isaac (26^{2}), and to Jacob (28^{13}, 46^{3}); the book ends with the mysterious foretelling of "Shiloh" (49^{10}, whatever be the text and the rendering); and the principle of faith is upheld again in the stories of Jacob and Joseph.

During the Exodus, faith and hope are still upheld, in the teaching of Moses, and Joshua, and Balaam, and in the experiences of the nation; and we now get an appreciation of the sources of these doctrines, *i.e.* the conception of Jehovah as a Father to His people, and as a loving God, and the covenant-relation existing between Him and Israel. Gradually is the hope realised in the evolution of a nation of roughly civilised people out of a semi-barbaric nomad tribe; Jehovah's people become, on a small scale, a world-power. The Canaanites, if not driven out or destroyed, are subdued; Philistines, Edomites, Moabites, Amorites, Ammonites, Amalekites, held in check; after a period of government by petty

rulers or judges and prophets, a monarchy is established; pretenders are removed; and the throne of David becomes an accomplished fact, and his sway and beneficent rule extend from Tiphsah and the River Euphrates to Gaza and the "border of Egypt."

His throne is established in the person of Solomon his son; wealth and prosperity are increased; "every man dwells under his vine and under his fig-tree"; "Judah and Israel are many, as sand which is by the sea in multitude, eating and drinking and making merry"; silver is made like stones, and is nothing accounted of, and cedar is as common as the worthless sycamore. (1 Kings 4^{20-25}, 10^{27}.)

But this was not to last; God had "provided some better thing" for them and for the world: and Israel had to be weaned from her limited and selfish and material hopes, to something wider and nobler and higher. This proved to be the work of centuries, and during the rise and fall of the fortunes of the Chosen People, we trace the changes and development of their conception of this hope, and the forms under which it was represented.

It was not long before they were compelled to recall the promises made to their forefathers, and to comfort themselves under present disappointment with renewed and re-emphasised hopes of the future. Rehoboam, Solomon's son, "ample in foolishness, and lacking in understanding, by his counsel made the people revolt" (Sir. 47^{23}); and from this time the nation is divided, and frequently at war.

Moreover, the ninth century saw the rise of the Syrian power; and Kings describes the inroads made upon both Judah and Israel; Assyria is a still greater power, and both Syria and Judaea feel her might. The people of Jehovah are not always conquerors, their final submission is only delayed by bribes taken from the Temple and Royal Treasury and transferred to foreign coffers. In 750 many inhabitants of the northern kingdom are deported (2 Kings 15^{29}), in 722 Samaria is taken, and the kingdom of Judah alone remains. Judah is now a buffer state between Assyria (later Babylon), and Egypt; it eventually falls a prey to Babylon in 588. Well might the people say, "Where are the ancient promises?"

And in answer to this question the prophets had much to say. They upheld the reality and the sureness of the promises; their faith and their hope failed not; and while they still looked for a material blessedness, they realised and insisted that moral and even spiritual things existed; and they asserted that Israel's failure to realise its material hope was due to its failure to recognise its moral and spiritual responsibilities.

But at first it was a return of the "good old days" of David and Solomon that they promised, and after repentance and purification Israel was to be established as of old. (Amos 9^{11} (*c.* 750); Zeph. 3^{12} (630).) This is the prevailing conception down to the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, when all hope of an earthly happiness seemed thereby utterly and finally taken away.

During the seventy years' exile a wonderful process of

Campus Crusade for Christ Library

purification and spiritualising went on. All their power was gone; their land inhabited by foreigners; Jerusalem and the Temple burnt and destroyed; they themselves practically in the same position as their forefathers in Egypt. Suffering challenged their faith and hope, and their faith and hope stubbornly responded and refused to be broken; but the higher spirits among them recognised the futility and the powerlessness of earthly power; they saw that God worked with and in other nations besides themselves, and that these, too, had a claim to God's care and promises; they learned how another nation had sought after God and had in a measure found Him. Hence they learnt the value of spiritual blessings, truth, righteousness, and the knowledge of God; their idea of salvation became less material, more catholic. Their hope varied in its character with the varying fortunes of the nation; but although at times it was largely identified with national independence and ascendancy, and with earthly prosperity, especially in the minds of the less educated, in the eyes of its better representatives it came more and more to bear an ethical and unearthly character.

The story of the Chosen People after the exile is not of the cheeriest. Cyrus the Persian conquers Babylon and the Persian Empire takes the leading place in history, lasting for some 200 years, *i.e.* until about 333, when it gives way to Alexander the Great and the Greek power. Cyrus gave leave to the Jews to return and rebuild Jerusalem, and some 42,000 took advantage of it, including one-sixth of the priests, but few with

wealth or property, and the majority of the tribe of Judah. (Fairweather, E. A., p. 34.) Zerubbabel was their leader. From the first the work was hindered by the Samaritans, who proposed an alliance and were refused; the difficulties were great, discouragements many; the settlers lost heart, and grew apathetic and selfish, and it needed the prophets Haggai and Zechariah to arouse them to the completion of the Temple and the repairing of the city. They were but few, and were soon forgotten by those they had left behind.

Eighty years later, 458, laxity had crept in, and Ezra the Scribe arose to revive the nation's hopes. He induced some 7000 more to return with him from Babylon to Jerusalem, and was encouraged and helped by the Persian King, Artaxerxes. (Fairweather, E. A., p. 64.) He reformed the life of the little community, but could not re-fortify and restore the city. This fell to the task of Nehemiah, fourteen years later, though with great difficulties, and Ezra and Nehemiah between them left the Jews more or less organised and settled, their rulers being no longer kings, but high priests.

Roughly another century passes, and Alexander the Great has conquered all the East, and at his death Ptolemy Lagi has Egypt, and Antiochus Syria, Seleucus Babylon. Judaea again becomes the buffer state and the cock-pit of the East. These three rulers war and intrigue against each other; eventually Judaea passes under the sway of Egypt and the Ptolemies, and enjoys a century of comparative peace and prosperity. At its end, in 198, Antiochus III. defeats Ptolemy Philopator and so Palestine passes to the kingdom of Syria.

The Jews are drawn of necessity into politics, their own fortunes depending on the power and goodwill of their neighbours.

Antiochus IV.,* the next king, surnamed Epiphanes, alluded to in Daniel 11^{21} ("vile person"), tries to impose Greek religion on the Jews and is resisted. He desecrates the Temple, and persecutes the Jews, who are thus driven into open rebellion (170). Some 40,000 are massacred, and as many sold into slavery; two years later Jerusalem is plundered and burnt, with more massacres and slavery; a heathen sacrifice is offered on an idol-altar erected over the great altar ("the abomination of desolation") and the Temple dedicated to Zeus.

A national hero arises, Judas Maccabaeus, in 166, and he successfully resists the Syrian power, and secures the promise of religious freedom. Under his two brothers the Jews regain their independence.

In 135 John Hyrcanus, nephew of Judas Maccabaeus. was compelled to give way to Antiochus VII., but on the latter's death in 128, he was able, owing to internal dissensions in Syrian affairs, to reassert his power, and for thirty years the Jews prospered. But they now began to suffer from internal factions. Jewish hopes had become so largely political and material, that the more religious-minded of the people protested; and there arose the two parties in the state, familiar to us as Pharisees and Sadducees, the former working for the religious ideal, the latter for the political. Civil war broke out in 94 and lasted six years, in the reign of Alexander Jannaeus,

* Cf. *Hibbert Journal*, July, 1913, p. 819.

a man of blood although High Priest, and for a generation or more disturbances and faction predominated.

The power of Rome had now for some time been in the ascendant (in 190 Antiochus III. had suffered defeat at their hands): in 63 Pompey took the city after a severe siege, and outraged the feelings of the Jews by entering the Holy of Holies. In Rome there was no escape, yet more than one effort was made to regain independence, and the last half-century before the Christian Era continued the tale of political faction, and intrigue, with periodical outburst and bloodshed. (Lk. 13^{1}; Acts 5^{36} ff.; Savage, "Gospel of the Kingdom," p. 6.)

This outline of Jewish history has been necessary to show the background of the nation's life, and the atmosphere in which its ideals and hopes were developed. It will help to explain the various forms which those hopes took, and the figures under which it was represented. We shall see, as we discuss them one by one, how the ideas were each fulfilled, either literally or spiritually, in the Person and teaching of Jesus of Nazareth, and developed into the larger hope which we call Christian. It is remarkable how persistently this hope flourished, and refused to be quenched through all the discouragements and afflictions that were laid upon the Jewish people; if their eyes looked back to the brilliant episodes of the past, it was only in order to encourage their hopes of a still more brilliant future.

The first point to notice is the notion that **God Himself will come** to the aid of His people.

Thus: Ps. 98^{9}, "He cometh to judge the earth."

Ps. 46^{10}, "I will be exalted among the nations; I will be exalted in the earth. The Lord of Hosts is with us, the God of Jacob is our refuge."

Zeph. 3^{17} (630), "Jehovah thy God in the midst of thee, a mighty one who will save."

Isa. 35^{4} (post-Ex.), "Behold! your God . . . He will come and save you."

Isa. 40^{10}, "The Lord God will come as a mighty one." Cf. 52^{12}; 43^{11} and *pass.* "Immanuel," *i.e.* "God with us."

Ezek. 34^{11}, "I myself, even I, will search for My sheep and will seek them out."

Zech. 14^{9} (post-Ex.), "Jehovah shall be king over all the earth." (Oehler, II. p. 406.)

Zech. 2^{10} (520), "I come, and I will dwell in the midst of thee."

Test. Zeb. 8^{8}, "There shall arise unto you Jehovah Himself."

Test. Simeon 6^{5}, "Jehovah God shall appear on earth, and save the sons of men." (137–107 B.C.)

Enoch 25^{3}, "God . . . shall come to visit the earth with goodness."

But this idea possibly derogated too much from the holiness of Jehovah, especially when contrasted with the sinfulness of Israel. The growing sense of sin and of powerlessness, also, encouraged the idea of a mediator, *i.e.* some one who would by his superior power free the oppressed, and be a less terrible person in his dealings than Jehovah Himself.

Thus we find **Jehovah sends another,** an important and far-reaching idea: Micah 5^{2}, "Out of thee are come

forth unto Me that is to be a ruler in Israel; whose goings forth are from of old, from everlasting. . . . He shall . . . feed His flock in the strength of Jehovah, in the majesty of the name of Jehovah His God; . . . He shall be great unto the ends of the earth."

Most beautiful is the conception of Isa. 11: "There shall come forth a shoot out of the stock of Jesse, and a branch out of his roots shall bear fruit: and the Spirit of Jehovah shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of Jehovah; and his delight shall be in the fear of Jehovah; and he shall not judge after the sight of his eyes, neither decide after the hearing of his ears: but with righteousness shall he judge the poor, and decide with equity for the meek of the earth: and he shall smite the oppressor with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked."

Ezek. $34^{23, 24}$, "I will set up one shepherd over them, and he shall feed them, even My servant David; he shall feed them, and he shall be their shepherd. And I the Lord will be their God, and My servant David prince among them."

Mal. 3^{1} (*c.* 400, Nehemiah), "I send My messenger." Cf. "Angel of Jehovah" elsewhere in Old Testament.

Ps. $2^{6,7}$, "I have set My king upon My holy hill of Zion. Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten Thee."

Ps. 110 describes the coming of a Priest-King who shall deliver His people. (Oehler, II. p. 407.)

It is clear from this that the hope is to be realised

not by a mere general ordering or re-ordering of the nation's life, but through the personal intervention of Jehovah, or His representative. It is remarkable that the Apocrypha has no reference to a personal Messiah, but the "Apocryphal" literature has many.

It would take us too long to trace the growth of this idea, especially in the difficult literature of the period between the two Testaments, of which literature some account will be given later; still less can passages be fully quoted in support of the description given. We have space only to describe and illustrate the chief forms. Many will recur to the mind from the Old Testament, and the student of the New Testament will recognise how the ideas are all comprehended in the Person of Jesus Christ. It will, of course, be understood that in no single passage is found the total conception of the Messiah, to use the usual title; it is presented by different writers and different ages in each of its varying aspects. The interesting part is that all and each are found in Jesus Christ.

The leading figure under which He is represented is that of a **King**, the most obvious, and to a people with such a national spirit as the Jews, the most popular, and therefore again the most permanent. We have seen it illustrated by Micah and Isaiah; it colours, partially at all events, Pss. 45 and 72; Zechariah bids Jerusalem welcome her King, riding upon an ass, the symbol of humility and peace; in Daniel His kingdom is from everlasting and not to be destroyed. The Targum of Onkelos explains Gen. 49^{10} (Shiloh) and Num. 24^{17}

(Balaam) as of a King to come; and other Targums on other passages uphold the idea. The Sibylline Oracles (Alexandria, *c.* 140 B.C.), speak of a king sent by God from the sunrise. (Sib. 3. 652; Mic. 5^2; Isa. 9; 11; 32; Zech. 9^9; Jer. 23^5; Dan. 7^{13}; Ps. 45; 72; Test. Levi 8^{14}; Test. Reub. $6^{11, 12}$; Ps. Sol. 17^{36}; Westcott, 124 ff.; Hastings, i. p. 748 b.)

This King is to be **of the seed of David,** and to sit upon David's throne, in accordance with the promise of 2 Sam. 7^{16}, "Thine house and thy kingdom shall be made sure for ever before thee; thy throne shall be established for ever" (cf. Ps. 89^{19} ff.). Thus Jeremiah says that "a branch of righteousness is to grow up unto David," and Ezekiel that Jehovah's shepherd will be "His servant David." Isa. 9 assigns "the throne of David" to the Messiah. Ps. Sol. (B.C. 50) appeal to God to "raise up unto them their king, the son of David." Cf. the two blind men who hailed our Lord as "Son of David" (Mt. 9^{27}), and our Lord's question to the Pharisees (Mt. 22^{41}). (Jer. 33^{15}; Ezek. 34^{23}; Ps. Sol. $17^{22, 5}$; Sir. 47^{11}; 4 Ezr. 12^{32}; Isa. $11^{6, 10}$; Mt. 12^{23}, 20^{30}, 15^{22}, $21^{9, 15}$; Savage, "Gospel of the Kingdom," p. 11; Westcott, p. 125.)

He comes from **the tribe of Judah** (David's tribe). (Gen. 49^{10}; Jub. 31^{18} ff.; Test. Jud. 24^5; T. Naph. 4^5; T. Levi 8^{14}; Mic. 5^2; Lk. 3^{33}; Heb. 7^{14}; Rev. 5^5.)

In the Test. originally he comes from Levi, *i.e.* he is a priest first; but after the breach with Hyrcanus, and after thirty or forty years' popularity, the Judah tradition reappears. (Test. Reub. 6^7; T. Lev. 8^4; 18; T. Jud. 24^1; T. Dan. 5^{10}; T. Jos. 19^5.)

Clearly his first work is that of **deliverance,** he is the champion and Saviour of his people, an idea found in many other nations and peoples (cf. Oesterley, "Messianic Idea," ch. ix.). Isa. 9 calls him "the mighty God," and (11) describes how he will smite the oppressor and slay the wicked (cf. 63^{1-6}). Ps. Sol. 17^{24} says: "Gird him with strength that he may shatter unrighteous rulers, and that he may purge Jerusalem from nations that trample her down to destruction. (4 Ezra 12^{31}, 13^{25}; 2 Bar. 40^{2}, 72; Ps. 110; Test. Reub. 6^{12}; Test. Levi 18^{12}; Test. Dan $5^{10, 11}$; Num. 24^{17}; Josh. 5^{14}, a warrior; Lk. 2^{38}, 24^{21}.)

Correspondingly he will be **Judge,** to sentence the enemies of Israel and vindicate his people; but also to punish the wicked and uphold the righteous, a moral distinction taking the place of a national. He will "execute judgment and righteousness in the land" (Jer. 33^{15}). "He shall not judge after the sight of his eyes, neither decide after the hearing of his ears; but with righteousness shall he judge the poor, and decide with equity for the meek of the earth." (Isa. $11^{3, 4}$.) 4 Ezr. 13^{37}, "He shall reprove the nations that are come for their ungodliness . . . and shall reproach them to their face with their evil thoughts."

Ps. Sol. 17^{29}, "He shall judge peoples and nations in the wisdom of his righteousness." (2 Bar. 39, 40, 72, 73; 4 Ezr. 12^{32}; Enoch 37–70; Ps. (frequent reference to judgment by Jehovah). Test. Levi 18; Dan. 7^{9}; For retribution in Old Testament: Gen. 18^{23}; Exod. 32^{33}; Num. 16^{22}; Dt. 7^{10}, 24^{16}; Ezek.; Job; Eccles; Dan. 5^{27}.)

He is also figured as a **Shepherd.** (Cf. above, Mic. 5^4; Ezek. 34^{23}, and Isa. 40^{11}, "Jehovah shall feed His flock like a shepherd," etc. Zech. 11^{16}; Ps. Sol. 17^{45}; Westcott, p. 125.)

Another familiar rôle is that of **Priest.** See, especially, Ps. 110, "A priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec." Zech. 6^{13}, "He shall be a priest upon his throne." Test. Levi 18^2, "Jehovah shall raise up a new priest." Test. Levi 8^{14}. This conception was naturally encouraged by the Maccabean "priest-kings." (Cf. esp. Zech. 6^{13}.)

Also **Prophet.** Deut. 18^{15} (not Messianic originally). 1 Macc. 14^{41}, "until a faithful prophet should arise." Test. Levi 8^{15}, "His presence is beloved, as a prophet of the Most High." Isa. 11. (See Oesterley, "Messianic Idea," p. 232.) Ju. 6^{14}, ^{31} ff., 4^{25}, 1^{21}; Acts 3^{22}, 7^{37}.

The Messiah is called Jehovah's **Servant,** especially in such leading passages as Isa. 42; 52^{13} ff.; the thought is naturally developed in the Targums on such passages; but in the literature of the intervening period it is not common; the thought of a hero and leader, rather than a subordinate person, being naturally more popular and more suggested by the history of the times. (Isa. 42; 43^{10}; 52^{13}, 53^{11}; Zech. 3^8; Ac. 4^{27}, ^{30}; 3^{13}, ^{26}; Westcott, p. 125.)

Another familiar title is that of **The Chosen One.** 1 Enoch 45^3, ^{4}, "My chosen one shall sit on the throne of glory: . . . cause my chosen one to dwell among them." (Especially Enoch 40^6; 49^2, ^{4}; 51^5, ^{13}; 52^6, ^{9}; 55^4; 61^5, ^{8}, ^{10}; 62^1; 53^6. Cf. Isa. 42^1, "My servant, my chosen." Lk. 9^{35}; 23^{35}.)

The title **Messiah** = Anointed = Christ, and the verb "anoint" is used originally of making priests and prophets and kings; as a substantive, only of kings; *e.g.* "The Lord's anointed." The idea is the conveying of Divine powers and attributes; fat, from which unguents were made, was always a specially holy part of the sacrifice, as was the blood; both were believed to be consumed by the god; hence the application of fat or oil suggested union with the god, and transmission of his virtues to the person anointed. (See Rob. Smith, "Rel. Sem," p. 233, 382 ff.) This rite and title, therefore, emphasise the Divine choice and consecration of the bearer.

It occurs first in the later technical sense of the national Saviour, probably in Dan. 9^{25}, and is found in 1 Enoch 52^{4}, and Ps. Sol. 17^{36}, $18^{6, 8}$; Mt. 2^{4}, 16^{16}, 22^{42}, $24^{5, 23}$, 26^{63}; Lk. $2^{11, 26}$, 4^{18}, $24^{26, 46}$; Jn. $1^{20, 41}$, 4^{25}.

It is the universal title in Acts and Epistles. (Ac. 4^{27}, 10^{38}. Oesterley, "Messianic Idea," p. 190. 1 En. 48^{10}; 4 Ezra 7^{29}, 12^{32}; 2 Bar. 29^{3}, etc.)

In his personal character the Messiah is to be **Righteous.** (1 Enoch 38^{2}, 46^{2} ff., 53^{6}; Test. Jud. 24^{1}; Zech. 9^{9}; Isa. 11; cf. Acts 3^{14}, 7^{52}, 24^{14}; 1 Jn. 2^{1}.)

Pure from sin. (Ps. Sol. 17^{41}; Test. Jud. 24^{1}; Test. Lev. 8.)

Wise. (Ps. Sol. 17^{42}; Isa. 9; 11.)

Meek. (Test. Jud. 24^{1}; Zech. 9^{9}; Isa. 53^{7}; Ps. 45^{4} (in Targum and LXX).) Oesterley ("Messianic Idea"), p. 258; contrast Jer. 17^{25}, 22^{4}.

This is "not an attribute of Messiah 200 B.C.–100 A.D." (Charles.)

He is **human, called Son of Man.** This name originated Dan. 7^{13}, and the idea is developed in 4 Ezra 13; and the title frequent in 1 Enoch (46^{2-4}, 48^{2}, 62^{5-14}, 63^{11}, 69^{26-29}, 70^{1}, $71^{14, 17}$).

This title was used by our Lord, but was not understood by the Jews (Jn. 12^{34}); it was clearly revived by Christ with a new meaning, and was *not* the current conception of the Messiah.

His human aspect would be the first thought of, and therefore tacitly underlies many of the passages describing His work. (Hastings, iii. p. 355[a]; Oesterley, "Last Things," p. 147 ff.; Driver's "Daniel" (Cambridge Bible Series); Fairweather, B. G., p. 294.)

But he is also **pre-existent,** not one from among the sons of men. (Perhaps Dan. 7^{13}; Mic. 5^{2}; 2 Bar. 29^{3}, 30^{1}, 39^{7}; 4 Ezra 7^{26} ff., 12^{32}, 14^{8}, 13^{26}; Sib. 5^{414}, "from the plains of heaven." 1 Enoch $48^{3, 6}$, 61^{10}, $62^{6, 7}$, 70^{1}; Jn. 8^{58}; Westcott, p. 103.)

And so we come to the notion that he is actually **Divine, and Son of God.** (1 Enoch 105^{2}, "My Son"; 4 Ezra $7^{28, 29}$, $13^{32, 37, 52}$, 14^{9}, "My Son"; cf. Ps. 2; Isa. 9 (especially Oesterley, "Messianic Idea," p. 212 ff.); Mt. 3^{17}, 17^{5}, 26^{63}; Jn. *passim*, "My Father"; Westcott, pp. 103, 133*n*.)

What is to be the effect of his coming?

In the first place, it will be attended with **suffering** to himself, a necessary feature of all work of deliverance. (Gen. 3^{15}; Isa. 53; Zech. 12^{10}.)

The thought was induced partly by Jacob's exile, the Captivity, and the sufferings at the hands, *e.g.*, of Antiochus Epiphanes, in Maccabean and Roman

periods. It is also "in the nature of things" (cf. Plato, Repub. 361 E.).

But the idea existed only in germ; it was never realised or appreciated by the Jews; it was hard to reconcile with that of a triumphant deliverer; it was only the personality and teaching of Christ that elucidated and emphasised this aspect, with what difficulties the Gospels tell us. (Lk. $24^{26, 46}$; Mk. 9^{30} ff.; 1 Cor. 1^{23}; Fairweather (E. A.), p. 36; Westcott, p. 145*n.*)

Rather were the current ideas just the reverse, and naturally so. The idea of political deliverance and political, national ascendancy took rise in the oppressions and difficulties of the eighth century, and developed largely in the Babylonish captivity. Hence it is largely reflected in the Old Testament, especially the Second Isaiah, where a beautiful picture of the returning exiles is given, and their triumph over their oppressors and re-establishment in their own land in unending prosperity and peace. (Cf. also Isa. 9; 11; 35; Mic. 4^{1} ff., 5^{2} ff.; Dan. 7^{14}; Ezek. 34^{27}.)

In the Old Testament the idea is almost entirely **material and this-worldly,** though the prophets included and insisted on a moral purification and restoration. The majority of people can hardly get beyond this conception, and this, with the provocations caused by repeated oppressions and insults offered to the national pride in the intermediate period, had its effect in the popular teaching and literature.

Thus Sibyll. iii. 652 describes the peace, wealth, and prosperity of the restored people; Tobit 13^{16}, 14^{5},

the rebuilding of Jerusalem, and the regathering of the tribes; Sir. 36^{18} the punishing of their enemies. (Acts 1^{6}; Sib. 5^{249} ff., ^{420}; Sib. 3^{741} ff.–^{794}; 4 Ezra 13^{40}, 8^{52}; 2 Bar. 71^{3}–74^{4}, 29; Isa. 35; Westcott, p. 117; Hastings, i. p. 742b ff.; Fairweather (B. G.), p. 168 ff.; (E. A. p. 175).)

One feature of his reign is the **Feast.** (Cf. Isa. 25^{6} (very late); Zeph. 1^{7} (a common Oriental conception); 4 Ezra 6^{52} says on flesh of behemoth and leviathan; also 2 Bar. 29^{4}. 1 Enoch 62^{14}; Ps. 74^{12-14}; Lk. 14^{15}, "Blessed are they that shall eat bread in the kingdom of God." Mt. 8^{11}, 22^{1}, 26^{29}; Lk. 22^{30}; Oesterley, "Last Things," pp. 60, 122, 142, 187; Savage, "Gospel of the Kingdom," p. 195 note.)

It includes **vengeance** on Israel's enemies, and on the wicked. (Cf. reference on "judge," p. 57; 1 Enoch 91^{12}, sinners are delivered into the hands of the righteous; 2 Bar. 72^{2}; Prophets *passim*; Sir. 35^{18}; Ps. Sol. 17.)

The benefit is thus all for the **chosen people alone,** (Psalms and Prophets; Sir. 36; 4 Ezra 6^{59}, $8^{52, 53}$, 13^{25}; Dan. 7^{22}; 2 Bar. 72; Jub. especially 15^{31}, 30^{7-17}, 1^{29}; Ass. Mos. 10^{7}; 4 Ezra; Ps. Sol. 9^{8}, 18^{4}; Westcott, p. 112.)

Yet the higher ethical and spiritual teaching held its own, and the office of the Messiah grew to that of judge between good and evil, and vindicator of the righteous as well as of the champion and restorer of the seed of Abraham. And with this we trace a breaking away from the old exclusive spirit, and a more catholic and sympathetic ideal springing up. Jerusalem and this earth and the Jews are not to be the centre and

scene and the sole beneficiaries of the Messiah's reign; there is to be a new heaven and earth, a new Jerusalem, every one that is pure and righteous shall dwell therein.

This **higher conception** was present from a comparatively early date, and **other peoples** were granted a share in the coming blessings, even if their position was subordinate to that of the true Israelite. (See especially 2 Isaiah. Isa. 11^9; Mic. 4^2; Jonah; especially Tests. XII. Patr.; T. Benj. 9^2; T. S. 7^2; T. N. 2^5; T. L. 14^4; 4^4, 8^{14}, 2^{11}; T. S. 6^5; T. N. 8^3; T. A. 7^3; T. D. 6^7; T. Jud. 25^5; T. B. 10^5; Ps. Sol. 17^{32}; Jn. 4^{42}.)

The conception gradually slips away from this earth and material things; political events prove the valuelessness of earthly power and wealth; suffering teaches the value of **spiritual** blessings and virtues; it is not the Gentiles who are to be punished, so much as the wicked; and the kingdom of the Messiah is in the spiritual sphere; the knowledge of Jehovah is the condition of attaining it. Elements of this appear in the teaching of Isa. (11^9), and its later development was due largely to the efforts of the Pharisees. The present condition was so hopeless that a new age was necessary for realising the promises. (1 Enoch (91^{17}), "inexhaustible fountain of righteousness —fountain of wisdom," quoted by Westcott, p. 108. Ass. Mos. 1^{18}, repentance; 1 Enoch 45^5, 91^{17}; 2 Bar. 44^{12-15}; Isa. 25^8; Ps. Sol. 17^{28}.)

Cf. also the idea of **a new heaven and a new earth,** (Isa. 65^{17}; 2 Bar. 32^6, 57^2; 4 Ezra 7^{75}, 5^{45}; Jub. 1^{29}; 1 Enoch 51^4, 72^1; Mt. 19^{28}; 2 Pet. 3^{13}; Rev. 21^1.)

Hence the last idea to be noticed, that of a **future life, or personal immortality** (developed partly under Persian influence). (Dan. 12^2; Isa. 26^{19}, 25^8; 2 Bar. 30^2, 54^{15}, 59^2; Jub. 23^{31}; 1 Enoch 92^3, 51^1 (see Charles's note), 91^{10}; Hos. 13^{14}; Ezek. 37^{12}; Enoch 91–104; Ps. Sol.; 4 Ezra 7^{32}; Hast., i. pp. 110b, 748b; E. Bibl., 1345, 1354–6 ff.; Fairweather, B. G., 283, 290, 49; Oesterley, L. T., 116.)

Each and all of the foregoing characteristics of the Messiah will have already recalled in our minds many passages and allusions in the New Testament; and there are a large number of passages and phrases in the Old Testament, too numerous to mention, which receive a fresh and a wonderful light from their use by or appropriateness to Jesus Christ. And these passages and conceptions, in their collective capacity, form the strength of the Saviour's claim to "fulfil" the Law and the prophets, and of the Apostles' earliest teaching. (Mt. 5^{17}, 13^{52}; Acts (*pass.*); "Lux Mundi," p. 132 ff., 159. See especially Westcott, pp. 129, 157, 158.)

There is a good chapter on this subject in Shailer Matthews (ch. xiv.). (See also Schürer, II. ii. p. 126 ff.; Latimer Jackson, p. 250, 273, 302; Muirhead, pp. 112.)

CHAPTER IV

HELLENISM AND THE DISPERSION—"WISDOM"

MENTION was made in Chapters I. and II. of the influence of the Romans on Jewish life and history; but the other ancient World-Power, Greece, played no less part in preparing the way for Christ; indeed, it was of far greater moment, in its influence on Jewish belief and thought; the points of contact also were far more numerous, being spread over a wider range of area and of history. This influence goes by the name of **Hellenism,** and was the result of the conquests of Alexander the Great (d. 323). Naturally he left behind him a trail of Greek settlers, and his policy was to found centres of Greek influence in the countries which he conquered. Schürer has collected the names of a number of places, like Gaza, Azotus, Caesarea, Ptolemais, which had their origin from such a policy of his or his successors (II. i., p. 12 ff.); and these would form centres from which Greek methods, Greek habits, Greek manufactures, Greek words, Greek art, Greek ideas, Greek thought, Greek tastes, Greek religion, would radiate, and influence the lines and development of the native races. Judaea, from its close connection with Syria, could not escape

this influence, and in the century 300–200, which was one of comparative peace and prosperity, the Hellenic influence arising from close and constant intercourse must have been very great.

It was not upon an unwilling or an unprepared people that Antiochus Epiphanes tried to enforce the full acceptance of things Greek; and not a few of the more enlightened (and enlightened by their very contact with a wider world) must have welcomed much that the Greek spirit had brought; many of the priestly families (the forebears of the later Sadducees) had lent it their support. Indeed, it was only his deliberate attempt to abolish the Jewish religion and his gross profanation of the temple by the erecting on the altar a small altar to Zeus, and the sacrifice of a pig (the "abomination of desolation" of Dan. 11^{31}), that caused the resistance to it. Of these events we have the record in 1 Maccabees, $1^{11-15,41}$ ff.; 2 Maccabees, 4^{10} ff., with their mention of Greek fashions, clothes, games, etc., their widespread popularity, and the dismay that they caused to the older heads.

Still more marked was Greek influence among the Jews of the **Dispersion** where the hold on traditional Judaism, though very real, was slighter. And from the point of view of Judaism taken as a whole this influence is of the greatest importance, by reason of the far greater numerical superiority of these Jews to those in Palestine. For it must be remembered that only some 50,000 Jews returned to Palestine, under Zerubbabel and Ezra, and that the wealthiest and most influential, as well as the majority, remained in Babylon. So that by the time of

Josephus (A.D. 37–101) they were reckoned in millions, taking the Euphrates district as a whole. A later tradition said that Cyrus forbade any further return, for fear of losing his population; and so numerous and powerful were they in A.D. 40, that the Romans shrank from provoking their hostility. (Edersheim, I. p. 8.) Mommsen actually speaks of them as the third factor in the Roman Empire (Bk. V. c. 11).

To the north-west of the Euphrates valley was another large settlement, in Syria, especially round Antioch and Damascus; and they spread thence over Asia Minor, especially to the large commercial centres like Ephesus, Pergamos, Sardis. About 200 B.C. Antiochus III. (the Great) settled 2000 Jews from Mesopotamia in Lydia and Phrygia.

The largest, and ultimately the most important of all, was the colony in Egypt. This had originated in the men who had fled thither from Nebuchadnezzar, taking with them, against his will, the prophet Jeremiah. A large number had gone with Alexander the Great, and eventually founded the famous city and seat of learning, Alexandria. Ptolemy I. (c. 300) imported thousands more, so that they numbered two-fifths of the whole population; and also into Cyrene, where they formed one-quarter. In the days of the Maccabees Onias IV. (High Priest) fled thither, with a view of transferring the headquarters of Judaism from Jerusalem, so low had their fortunes sunk in Palestine, and so influential were the Jews in Egypt. He established a temple at Leontopolis, which survived till the days of Vespasian. In the days of Philo (B.C. 20—A.D. 45)

they numbered a million, and in Alexandria two districts out of five were entirely Jewish.

They were to be found in practically all parts of the civilised world, and Acts 2^5 describes the cosmopolitan nature of the crowd at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost, and St. Paul found synagogues of the Jews at Thessalonica, Beroea, Athens, and Corinth. At Rome they were increased by the captives taken thither by Pompey, in B.C. 61, and afterwards made freedmen. Horace and Juvenal and Tacitus and others frequently allude to their presence there. (Juv. Sat. 3. 14, 297; 10. 94; 14. 96; Hor. Sat. 1. 4. 143; 5. 100; 9. 69; Tac. Hist. 5. 4, 5; Cicero, pro Flacco, 66; cf. an interesting article by Professor H. A. Strong in the *Hibbert Journal* for January, 1915.)

Not the least interesting or important colony was that created by Aristobulus (High Priest) son of John Hyrcanus, in 104 B.C., in Iturea, known as "Galilee," or the Region, "of the nations" (Isa. 9^1), by compelling them to accept Judaism at the point of the sword. The New Testament refers to the provincial and semi-foreign accent of our Lord's disciples (Mt. 26^{73})

These Jews, living out of Palestine and possessing thus a double nationality, were known as the Diaspora, or Dispersion, as we read in Jn. 7^{35}; Jas. 1^1; 1 Pet. 1^1, though in the two latter passages the technical meaning is obscured in the A.V. The Greek word διασπόρα is suggestive, as it conveys the idea of seed scattered abroad with a view to harvest. (See especially "Lux Mundi," p. 151 ff.; Fairweather, E. A., pp. 102, 108 ff., 143; Fairweather, B. G., p. 155; Bevan,

J. H. P., p. 115; Westcott, p. 64; Oesterley, p. 49; Schürer, II., ii., p. 219 ff.)

With all these Jews, born and bred in Greek cities and under Greek influence, it was inevitable that their habits and mode of life should be affected, and their knowledge and mental outlook widened; and, on the other hand, that their nationality and their **exclusiveness** should be intensified. For if Greek thought and civilisation came as a revelation to the Jewish mind, it came also as a distinct challenge; and, as we know, Judaism never failed in lively and vigorous response to any challenge offered it. This exclusiveness and pride of race is evident from early days in the Old Testament, where their boast was that they were the Chosen People of Jehovah, to the contempt of all other peoples. And oppression and persecution only made them draw yet closer to each other. Wherever they went they formed a separate and distinct community, and were able in most cases to procure for themselves peculiar rights and privileges and immunities, such as self-government, Sabbath observance, payment of tribute to Jerusalem, equality of civic rights and advantages with their fellow-townsmen.

Their attitude towards foreigners, too, had not been of the friendliest, for which they had had good reason during the latter days of the monarchy, the captivity, and the weary centuries when they were overrun by foreign armies; and, on the other hand, no nation would be too readily inclined to welcome them, with their intense pride, their close freemasonry, their economical habits, their commercial skill, their obstinacy. Gentiles

had always in their eyes been inferior to the chosen people of Jehovah; and more than one Gentile nation had earned their undying enmity by conquest and ill-treatment. The feud with the Samaritans, described in Ezra and Nehemiah, and the reforms by which they tried to stop the prevalence of mixed marriages, all intensified the national exclusiveness.

This exclusiveness found expression also in a strong attachment to the Temple, whither annual tribute was sent, and pilgrimages made at the times of the great feasts. (In the last chapter we saw how the reunion of the scattered tribes and the restoration of Jerusalem and the Temple formed part of the national hope.) Yet perhaps its most potent result was the care with which their religious teaching was preserved, issuing in the formation of the **Canon of Holy Scripture,** the **Septuagint** (Greek Version of the Scriptures), the growth of the body of the **Scribes,** and the teaching of the **Rabbis** embodied in the later Targums and Talmud. (Edersheim, I. ch. 5, 6; Fairweather, B. G., pp. 40, 315; Fairweather, E. A., pp. 44, 45, 67; Wade, "O. T. Hist.," p. 499.)

Up to the time of the captivity and after there had usually been the voice of prophecy to declare God's will and to direct the nation. But with Malachi the race of prophets died out, and for 400 years or so they waited anxiously for the new prophet that should come. (Deut. 18; Jn. 1^{21}, 6^{14}, 7^{40}, and Mt. 21^{11} refs.) Something had to be done; and we find them turning to the old writings, interpreting them, and gradually forming them into a single collection, known as "the Law,

the prophets, and the (Sacred) writings." Ezra established the reading of the Law as an essential part of public worship, and added to it the delivery of a running commentary or paraphrase; and so he became the father of the Scribes and the originator of the Targums (Ezra 8^8). Schools of study and instruction arose with the Rabbis at their heads; and whether in Palestine or in the Dispersion, the study of the Law was a powerful bond of union and *point d'appui*. The rigid care and veneration in which it was held ensured the continuity and purity of the message, even if it was marred and misinterpreted during the centuries of its development. Students of the New Testament, even of the Gospels only, know how the whole religious life and hope of the people centred round the Law, so as to justify the statement of Professor Wendt, that the formation of the Old Testament canon was "the most important historical fact of post-exilian Judaism." (Fairweather, B. G., p. 40 ff.; Westcott, p. 55 ff.; Oesterley, p. 160; Schürer, II. i., p. 306.)

The **interpretation of the Scriptures** followed close on the heels of the formation of the Canon, and the Hellenistic atmosphere demanded some statement of the true relation of Jewish teaching to Greek philosophy and thought. Many of the Jews were also entirely Greek in spirit, and apparent contradictions had to be removed, and a synthesis established in which the two formed a harmonious unity. And so we find Aristobulus (B.C. 180–146) in a commentary on the Law of Moses asserting that the Greek philosophers had borrowed largely from him; to substantiate his position he

initiated the allegorical method of expounding Scripture, a method by which almost anything might be proved from the sacred text, and for which Alexandria became famous in the days of Clement and Origen. Versions of Homer and Hesiod appeared, cast in a light intended to show their dependence on Moses, and the Sibylline oracles were edited from a similar point of view.

This tendency developed, and found its fullest and highest expression in Philo, a Jewish philosopher who flourished at Alexandria in the time of our Lord, and largely influenced Christian theology. (Fairweather, B. G., p. 320, 329 ff., 349 ff., 418; Westcott, p. 78 ff.; Edersheim, I., p. 33.)

Living thus in a Greek city, and using Greek as the usual medium of conversation, the Jews would worship in the Greek tongue, and so need a Greek version of the Scriptures; and this would not only provide for their wants, but would also be a means of introducing their faith to their heathen neighbours. To this need we owe the **Septuagint,** whatever be the truth as to its actual completion. One account makes it the work of seventy-two scholars sent by request from Jerusalem (hence its name), but it is certainly the work of Alexandrian Jews, and bears traces of accommodation to Greek thought. (It may be dated roughly 250–150 B.C.) In particular scholars have noticed a tendency to remove or modify anthropomorphisms, *i.e.* phrases in which God is spoken of in human form and manner, in order to harmonise with the transcendental, spiritual conception of deity held by the Greeks.

The completion of this work was far-reaching in

its effect. It undoubtedly encouraged the broadening tendency of Hellenism, by rendering a knowledge of Hebrew no longer necessary for the Jew; and it was a powerful vehicle for the introduction of Jewish teaching to the Gentile world; in it all men could read and study for themselves. It was widely used, even in Palestine, as is shown by the number of quotations made from it in the New Testament; it exercised no small influence on New Testament language and the Fathers; to us it is a valuable guide as to the original text of the Old Testament, having been made from a Hebrew text far older than any that we now possess; in the Eastern Church it is established as their "Authorised Version."

Moreover, it filled a gap in the life of the Jews. To the Dispersion, the Temple at Jerusalem was but a name; few of them were ever likely to see it, though all hoped to; and this version of their cherished Law gave them a common link and a rallying point; all were at one in this, and drew their spiritual life from it, even if the central sanctuary and its services were too remote for them, or even from time to time desecrated and in abeyance. And it bridged the gulf that separated them from the Gentile world; for now the Greek language was made the vehicle of Jewish thought, and the two, thus united, became, later on, the medium through which Christianity was diffused. (Fairweather, B. G., 325 ff.; Fairweather, E. A., 100; Paterson Smyth, "Old Documents, etc.," p. 147; Westcott, p. 77; Edersheim, I., p. 26; Oesterley, p. 58; Schürer, II., iii., p. 159.)

The Dispersion was not without its influence on the

nations with whom the Jews made their homes. It was a true Preparatio Evangelica, for it familiarised the whole civilised world with Jewish thought, hopes, and beliefs, and so the most important part of the human race (at that time) had instilled into them the seed out of which Christianity was developed. The appeal of Christianity would thus fall on ears not entirely ignorant or unprepared; while the Jews themselves in all lands would from their previous preparation and strong hope, be naturally ready to welcome Christianity, and so become the nucleus of the Christian Church. If they had done no more than witness to the truth of monotheism, in the middle of a polytheistic and syncretistic world, that in itself would have been much. In Palestine, as we have seen, it was from the descendants of foreign Jews in Galilee that our Lord drew at least some of His disciples, and He included in them also St. Philip, who bore, at any rate, a Greek name. (Cf. Fairweather, B. G., p. 367 (quoting Weizsäcker).)

We have yet another phenomenon of this period to describe, the **Wisdom** movement and literature. Examples of this in the Old Testament are the books of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Job, and certain Psalms; and in the Apocrypha the books of Sirach (son of), or Ecclesiasticus, and the Wisdom of Solomon (so called). This was the nearest approach to philosophy that a Hebrew could come; he could not investigate life with an open mind, for he necessarily started from the assumptions of the existence of God and of a Divine revelation in the Law. But he could and did investigate the order of things, and show in the light of these

principles how "all things worked together" under God's providence, and "for good to them that love God." Hebrew thought was thus concrete not abstract, practical not theoretical. In this Wisdom movement may be traced side by side, elements of philosophy, ethics, poetry, mysticism, and religion; and it owed its rise largely to the wave of Hellenism in the second century B.C., which challenged Judaism to give an account of itself, to the keen and subtle intellects of the Greek world, and to justify its claims. It became, therefore, an *apologia pro judaismo*, a defence of the Mosaic Law, and a protest against heathenism.

But it was also forced on the Jews themselves for another reason. The old teaching maintained that if a man did right he was rewarded by material prosperity, and that the wicked were punished with adversity; moreover, religion had in early days been largely national, and the fortunes of the individual had been but scarcely considered; but the captivity and the Diaspora had played havoc with national ideals, and the sufferings of the Jews demanded some explanation of the glaring contradiction between promise and result, between faith and experience. Individualism was being forced to the front, and righteousness by no means invariably received its reward.

Thus the Wisdom literature deals with the problem of the moral government of the world, and while upholding the truth of the Mosaic teaching, it widens its application, and embraces all mankind in its purview; while giving minute instructions as to the conduct of this life, it is not unmindful that there is a hereafter, where the

inequalities and unrighteousness of this world will be redressed. (The same problem appears in Plato, Rep. 360 *e* ff.)

One remarkable feature is the personification of Wisdom, by which she appears as God's right hand agent, and representative. See Prov. 8^{22-31}; Wisd. $9^{4, 10}$ (=Angel of Jehovah).

"Jehovah possessed (formed) me in (as) the beginning of His way, before (the first of) His works of old.

"I was set up from everlasting, from the beginning, or ever the earth was.

"When there were no depths, I was brought forth; when there were no fountains abounding with water.

"Before the mountains were settled, before the hills was I brought forth:

"While as yet He had not made the earth, nor the fields, nor the beginning of the dust of the world.

"When He established the heavens, I was there; when He set a circle upon the face of the deep:

"When He made firm the skies above: when the fountains of the deep became strong:

"When He gave to the sea its bound, that the waters should not transgress His commandment: when He marked out the foundations of the earth:

"Then was I by Him, as a master-workman: and I was daily His delight, rejoicing always before Him;

"Rejoicing in His habitable earth; and my delight was with the sons of men."

Thus she is "at once the expression of the Divine

intelligence, the reflexion of the Divine character, and the unfolding of the Divine purpose." (Fairweather, B. G., p. 83.) Besides this objective conception, she is also viewed subjectively, as man's inner guide and counsellor, and she dwells with those who recognise God's purpose and power, and try to do His Will, denoting man's susceptibility to the Divine reason which permeates the mind. Thus "the fear of the Lord is the beginning of Wisdom." (Fairweather, B. G., p. 148; Sir. 24; Wisd. 9^9.)

It is noticeable further about this latter aspect of Wisdom that learning and piety are all but if not quite identified, the moral and intellectual spheres are barely distinguished; and Sirach makes her equivalent to the keeping of the Law. (Sir. $24^{10, 11, 23}$ ff.; 1^{26} ff.; Prov. 11^9.) This, however, enshrines the not always evident truth that moral rectitude has a great influence on spiritual perception. (See Jn. 7^{17}; and cf. Sir. 39^{24}; Prov. 3^{19}; Job 28; Ps. 111^{10}; Bar. 3^9–4^4; Jer. 10^{12}; Fairweather, B. G., p. 79 ff., 146; Oesterley, p. 226 ff.)

On the question of the Divine justice, and the rewarding of the godly and the punishment of the wicked, some passages blindly adhere to the original teaching: "There shall no mischief happen to the righteous, but the wicked shall be filled with evil." (Prov. 12^{21}, cf. 13^{21}; Sir. 9^{11}, 33^1; 12^6; 16^{12}, 21^9, 41^{10}, 4^{19}, 5^6, 7^8; Prov. 3^{16}.

But this assertion, however, full of faith and of trust in God's faithfulness and righteousness, could not be

maintained in the face of facts; and it was held that suffering was a process of purification, by which the good were made better, and the inevitable fire in which the precious metal was refined. See Prov. 3^{11}, "Despise not the chastening of the Lord, neither be weary of His reproof; for whom the Lord loveth He reproveth, even as a father the son in whom he delighteth."

Sir. 4^{11}, "At first she will walk with him in crooked ways, and torment him with her discipline."

Sir. 32^{14}, "He that feareth the Lord will receive his discipline."

Sir. 2^{1}, "If thou comest to serve the Lord, prepare thy soul for temptation."

Cf. Job 5^{17}.

The fullest and deepest treatment of the problem is found in the book of Job, where the three friends take up the attitude that because Job suffers he must therefore have sinned; he defends himself and asserts his uprightness; and in the famous passage 19^{25} he appeals to his avenger, who in another world, if not in this, will uphold him and vindicate his character.

As a consequence of these beliefs we have in the book of Sirach a manual of conduct, the application of Wisdom to daily life. In it are given directions as to conduct in many conceivable relations of life, such as family life, adversity, prosperity; behaviour to the rich and poor, wise and foolish; choice of friends, of occupations; dining out; business; and various virtues are commended; all in the same sort of way as in Proverbs.

(Fairweather, E. A., p. 120; Bevan, p. 49 ff.; Oesterley, p. 321; Schürer, II., iii., p. 23.)

The book of Ecclesiastes, or the Preacher, shows a trace of Greek influence, in the attitude that it adopts in viewing life from the standpoint of the happiness of the individual; and while the author is no atheist, he is yet a profound pessimist; "all is vanity and a striving after wind," is his conclusion.

In the book of Wisdom we have a kind of counter-blast to the Preacher, and one which is decidedly Greek in thought and character. The writer enumerates the four cardinal virtues of Stoicism (8^7); alludes to the Pythagorean and Platonic doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul (8^{20}); and speaks of wisdom in the language of Greek philosophy (7^{22} ff.). Yet the fundamentals of the book are Jewish, and the writer is persistent in his upholding of orthodoxy. (Especially Fairweather, B. G., p. 337 ff.; Hastings, iv., p. 928*a*; Edersheim, I., p. 32; Oesterley, p. 455; Schürer, II., iii., p. 230.)

Three features of this movement are to be noticed as part of the preparation for Christianity.

(i.) The conception of Wisdom as a separate entity, an emanation from the God-head, the agent, representative, of the Creator; the description of her as "a breath of the power of God," God's "holy spirit," "a clear effluence of the glory of the Almighty," "an image of His goodness," "all powerful," "the sharer of God's throne," "all-healing," "bearer of God's sword";—this opened a way for the appreciation of distinctions in the God-head, *i.e.* of the Holy Trinity, and of the work

and mission of the Second and Third Persons in It. (Fairweather, B. G., p. 342.)

(ii.) In its treatment of the problem of innocence and suffering it prepared the way for the acceptance of the sufferings of the Messiah, and the teaching of Christ on the subject.

(iii.) The identification of Wisdom with the Law raised another protecting screen under which the study, preservation, and transmission of Jewish teaching were made more secure and certain, especially as the subject matter for the education of the young amongst the Dispersion.

For the shortcomings and failure of Wisdom to supply man's need, see Westcott, pp. 82, 83.

Parallel to the conception of Wisdom is that of the **Logos**. This is a Greek word, meaning both word or speech, and the thought or reason of which speech is the expression. It can trace its use to both Jewish and Greek sources, and was therefore a natural idea for the Alexandrian thinkers to adopt and develop.

In the Old Testament it appears as the "Word of Jehovah," as when the creation is ascribed to an expressed command, *i.e.* a word, of God (Gen. 1, 2; and this word is poetically personified in Pss. 33^{6}, 107^{20}, 147^{15}); and when the prophets speak of the "Word of Jehovah" coming unto them in inspiration and mission. In the Targums "Word" is largely used of God when He reveals Himself and makes His will known. Thus it is parallel also to such expressions as "Angel of Jehovah,"

"Glory or Shekhinah of Jehovah," "Name of Jehovah," which at least suggested the possibility of distinctions in the God-head.

It is, again, remarkable that the same expression is found in Greek philosophy, and can be traced back as far as Heraclitus (B.C. 500); and it formed part of the teaching of Plato, and especially the Stoics, and echoes of it are found in Pindar and Euripides. Naturally enough, it was familiar to the men of Alexandria, and Philo found in it another convenient link for uniting Judaism and Hellenism.

But we must be careful to remember that the Greek Logos was not at all the same as the Hebrew "Word"; it expressed rather the rational principle underlying the universe, the reason and thought of the deity, by which he was apprehended by human reason and thought.

The language of Philo is very striking, though deceptive. He calls the Logos "image of God," "eldest son," "first-born," and "only-begotten," "intercessor," "high-priest," "instrument of creation," "Paraclete," "king of peace"; and it is easy to see how much his teaching may have influenced St. John and the writer of Hebrews (especially first chapter of both; also Col. i.; cf. Sir. 43[26]); his influence on the early Church also was very great. But the Logos of Philo, again, is not the "Word" of St. John, and the resemblance is mainly verbal; and although in this Alexandrian thought undoubtedly paved the way, the Christian idea of the Logos was a distinct and differing development from it.

In Philo it is difficult to know just what he does

mean ; for at one time the Logos is personified, at another it is merely an aspect of God's power at work in the world. Moreover, to Philo, God could be known more clearly by intuition and mystic ecstasy than through the Logos ; and he has no room in his scheme of things for an Incarnation or a Redeemer. (Westcott, pp. 80, 151 ; Edersheim, I., pp. 46, 49, 56 ; Fairweather, B. G., p. 350 ff. ; Estlin Carpenter, "Comparat. Rel.," p. 47 ; Oesterley, p. 61 ; Schürer, II., iii., p. 363 ff.)

Gathering up the threads of what has gone before, we may say that the Dispersion and the Hellenic influence generally had an undoubted, and powerful, and invaluable effect on Jewish thought, in weaning it from a narrow nationalism to a true **Catholicism,** and a Catholicism of thought and idea as well as of religious ideals ; all men had their knowledge of God, if limited, if perverted ; and while God's blessings were for all men alike, so had all races something to contribute to the knowledge and spiritual welfare of the whole. (Cf. Rev. 21^{24} ; Fairweather, B. G., p. 315 ff.)

Particularly was this the case at Alexandria, now the centre of civilisation and culture, where met together the three forces of Greek thought, Eastern mysticism, and Jewish religion. There the Jews received ideas of freedom, which softened their unduly rigid and legalistic and conservative spirit ; and of philosophy and speculation, which opened out new avenues of thought beyond the simple record of the dealings of Jehovah with His people and the Decalogue ; there the religion of humanity and toleration and sympathy for all overcame the

narrow barriers of race which underlay traditional Judaism.

The use of the Greek language, of Greek names and habits and dress; the study of Greek literature, attendance in the schools of Greek philosophers, became the normal practice for the keener intellects among the Alexandrian Jews, and even in Palestine, especially under the stimulus of Antiochus Epiphanes (see above, pp. 51, 66). The Jews in Asia Minor would catch the prevailing infection; and, while adhering stubbornly to the faith of their fathers, they unconsciously shed some of its more uncompromising features, and became more cosmopolitan, more tolerant and sympathetic, more catholic. And while giving to the Greek a religious conception of the world, they received from him the thoughts and the words necessary to give it scientific expression. (Oesterley, "Books of the Apocrypha," chaps. i.–iv.; Schürer, II., i., p. 1 ff.)

Traces of the influence of Greek manners and Jewish life may be found in the Apocrypha. Thus Sir. 9^4 warns his readers against the company of professional singers; and in 32^5 ff. alludes to banquets with musical accompaniments, and compares them to gems and jewels; in 38^{27} he mentions engravers of signets, and in 38^{1-8} we have the famous praise of physicians. The "Book of Wisdom" bears many traces of Greek influence, and is a fine example of Hellenistic literature. (Fairweather, B. G., p. 337.)

And in the New Testament we have a mention of the "Grecian Jews" whose widows were neglected in the daily distribution of food (Acts 6^1 ff.); and the story of

St. Stephen's martyrdom illustrates the liberal tendencies of Hellenistic Judaism, and its divergence from the orthodoxy of the Rabbis.

This tendency was also fostered by the **Synagogue** system (see p. 104), a natural growth when worship at the Temple of Jerusalem was no longer possible; for a place of worship was thus available for a Jew wherever he might go, and his religion was thus not tied down to any one time or place (contrast Deut. 12^5, etc.); and also by the admission, if grudging, of **proselytes** into the Jewish community, by which non-Jews were granted, nominally, at all events, the same privileges as the seed of Abraham. (Fairweather, E. A., pp. 90, 95, 110; Fairweather, B. G., p. 26 n.)

And this widening tendency was accompanied also by a **spiritualising of ideals.** The Exile, and then the Diaspora, weakened the national and material ideal; the loss of their familiar symbols of religion, the Ark, the Temple, and the Temple worship; the growth of a simpler, less material worship in the synagogues, deepened the spiritual instinct. The teaching uttered by Ezekiel in Chaldea became fruitful in a truer conception of the inwardness of religion, and Persian influences encouraged their detachment from earthly notions; persecution and suffering quickened their sense of the power of prayer, and turned their hopes to a new age, a new sphere of existence, a new heaven and earth, where the inequalities and limitations of this earth should be removed and set right; the mingling among the nations changed the dividing line from between Jew and Gentile

to between godly and ungodly ; an ethical test took the place of national. (Westcott, pp. 54, 57 ; Fairweather, E. A., pp. 15, 29, 57.)

With the change from national to spiritual ideals came the spiritualised form of the old teaching about a people of God, so that the ideal became that of a **theocracy,** a Divine, spiritual kingdom ; a stepping-stone to that of the Christian Ecclesia or Church, a kingdom "in the world though not of the world," whose ruler was God Himself. (Fairweather, B. G., p. 21 ff. ; Jos., C. Apion, 2. 17.)

Finally, the break-up of the nation, and life in alien countries brought to the front the importance of the **individual.** Jeremiah had asserted that the essence of true religion lay in personal communion with God, and Ezekiel had grandly upheld the truth of personal responsibility ; in Egypt, Chaldea, and Greece were found habits and institutions all based upon the same truth, such as the consultation of priests, and astrologers, the study of philosophy, and the formation of select guilds and societies ; and in the Psalms we have some of probably the highest expressions of personal devotion known to man, the fruit of Jewish experience under the hand of God's discipline.

Moreover, Greek institutions and principles of government were based largely upon the conception of the rights of the individual ; and this gave to the Jews a fresh notion of the human personality together with the opportunity for developing its powers and privileges. They came to realise that the community comes to its best and fullest with the full and free

development of the members who compose it, and that each member, be he member of the state, *i.e.* citizen, or of a religious body, has both rights to exercise and responsibilities to bear, as well as privileges to enjoy. (Jer. 4^{4}, 17^{10}, 31^{29}, ^{33} ff., 32^{40}; Ezek., especially chap. 33; Fairweather, B. G., p. 30 ff.; Oesterley, pp. 18, 31.)

CHAPTER V

THE APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

(*I have not quoted in full here from the Old Testament or New Testament, as they can be easily referred to, and in order to save space.*)

Allusion has been made to the closing and formation of the Canon, and the beginnings of the study and interpretation of the Law made under Ezra, and the growth of the order of Scribes, who made it their business to interpret and apply the Scriptures. They could do much for the guidance of the people, especially towards forming regular habits of life and rules of religious exercise. But more was wanted. The order of Prophets had ceased, and a living voice was wanted; there was "a famine of hearing the words of the Lord"; "we see not our signs; there is no more any prophet; neither is there among us any that knoweth how long." (Ps. 74[9].) The teaching of the Scribes tended rather to negative conclusions; it was timid and narrowing; it could not inspire and guide, and master changing circumstances and present-day problems; it was academic and grandmotherly, bred of the cloister and not of the battlefield of life.

Particularly in the times of oppression, as in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, and under Roman dominion, and when the country was torn by civil war and faction, the question was always being asked, "Where are the ancient promises," "Why does God delay His vengeance," "How long are the righteous to suffer"? And in answer the Scribes would turn to the ancient prophets, where they found plenty of idealised visions of a bright and triumphant future as yet unfulfilled. These they allegorised, and by a free use of their material constructed a forecast of what the faithful were to expect.

Thus to a certain extent they supplied the need of the times; but something free and more vigorous was wanted, and the bolder spirits and the more lofty religious genius of the nation evolved it; and from this allegorising and symbolising tendency sprang the **apocalyptic movement,** which satisfied the highest aspirations, and exercised a widespread influence.

The word "apocalypse" means a revealing, an unveiling, and the apocalyptic writings purport to be a Divine revelation of the Divine plan, and of the events of the future. Apocalypse was the legitimate successor of prophecy, as the instructor of the people, and the development of certain tendencies already evident in the Old Testament. (Westcott, p. 73 note.) And its authors claimed the authority of the great prophets, and the various writings were issued in their names, a literary device indefensible to our modern ideas, but not suggesting to them any dishonesty; rather it was meritorious to support your own deepest convictions by the use of a great name, than risk their failure to comfort and

encourage at a time when no one teacher could claim to be a leader and prophet. And the authors cared not so much for their own names and reputations, as for the truths that they felt bound to utter for the good of their fellows. These truths are also often the development of Old Testament teaching, hence some right to claim support of a great prophet's name.

In the Apocalypse the freest rein is given to the imagination, and the teaching conveyed in parables, symbols, and visions; these were rendered necessary often by the fact that oppressors and great people could not be mentioned safely by name; and they appealed to the oriental love of imagery. The object of the writings is to console those who are suffering in hard times, both as a nation and as individuals; to encourage bright hopes of the future; and to strengthen faith in God's power and goodness. ("Tracts for bad times.") Certain definite ideas and conceptions appear, of the form which events will take in the future, and the deliverance come. The writings are to be ascribed to no one particular party or sect, but are more likely the fruit of a spontaneous outburst of popular religious feeling; they are essentially popular in form and manner.

Traces of this movement are found, as has been said, in the Old Testament, most noticeably in the Book of Daniel. See especially c. 7 ff.; Zech. 14; Joel. 2^{1-11}, $^{22-31}$; Isa. 24.

This tendency to speak in visions and to announce an idealised future had been strongly encouraged by Ezekiel and the Second Isaiah; and when national events

rendered the restoration of the Davidic kingdom and material welfare less and less likely, this was indeed the only form that the hope could take. Consequently, in the extra-canonical apocalyptic writings we notice these important changes from the teaching of the prophets, that the ideal is no longer to be realised in this world; that it includes all nations and peoples and not Israel alone; the judgment will proceed also on moral lines, not only on the question of nationality. The oppressions at the hands of the heathen, however, had been so severe that the Gentiles are almost invariably doomed to damnation; one misses the sympathetic references to them of 2 Isaiah; and the philosophy of history evoked by the wider conception of the Divine supremacy took the form of a determinism, in which the whole course of human history was considered as fore-ordained and mapped out, and its progress merely a matter of time, rather than of human co-operation.

Let us now look at one or two typical passages of these writings, so popular and so influential in the two centuries B.C., and reflected so much in part of our Lord's teaching, and other parts of the New Testament.

Enoch 1^3 ff.: (second century B.C.).

The Holy Great One will come forth from His dwelling,

And the Eternal God will tread upon the earth, even on Mount Sinai,

And appear in the strength of His might from the heaven of heavens.

And all shall be smitten with fear,
And the Watchers shall quake,
And great fear and trembling shall seize them unto the ends of the earth.

And the high mountains shall be shaken,
And the high hills shall be made low,
And shall melt like wax before the flame.

And the earth shall be wholly rent in sunder,
And all that is upon the earth shall perish,
And there shall be a judgment upon all men.

But with the righteous He will make peace,
And will protect the elect,
And mercy shall be upon them.

And they shall all belong to God,
And they shall be prospered,
And they shall all be blessed.

And He will help them all,
And light shall appear unto them,
And He will make peace with them.

And behold! He cometh with ten thousands of His holy ones (cf. Jude 14)
To execute judgment upon all,
And to destroy all the ungodly:

And to convict all flesh
Of all the works of their ungodliness which they have ungodly committed,
And of all the hard things which ungodly sinners have spoken against Him."

62[5] ff.

" And one portion of them shall look on the other,
And they shall be terrified,
And they shall be downcast of countenance,
And pain shall seize them,
When they see that Son of Man
Sitting on the throne of His glory.

. . . . . .

And He will deliver them to the angels for punishment,
To execute vengeance on them because they have oppressed His children and His elect,
And they shall be a spectacle for the righteous and for His elect : (cf. Cor. 4[9])
They shall rejoice over them,
Because the wrath of the Lord of Spirits resteth upon them,
And His sword is drunk with their blood.

And the righteous and elect shall be saved on that day,
And they shall never thenceforward see the face of the sinners and unrighteous.

And the Lord of Spirits will abide over them,
And with that Son of Man shall they eat,
And lie down and rise up for ever and ever."

90^{28} ff. (A vision of the new Jerusalem, the conversion and submission of the Gentiles, and the Messiah.)

"And I saw till the Lord of the sheep brought a new house greater and loftier than that first, and set it up in the place of the first which had been folded up: all its pillars were new, and its ornaments were new and larger than those of the first. . . .

"And I saw all the sheep which had been left, and all the beasts on the earth, and all the birds of the heaven, falling down and doing homage to those sheep and making petition to and obeying them in every thing. . . .

"And I saw that a white bull was born, with large horns, and all the beasts of the field and all the birds of the air feared him and made petition to him all the time."

Here is a passage from the Sibylline Oracles, 3^{767} ff. (second century B.C.):

"He will raise up His kingdom for all ages over men, He who once gave a holy law to godly men, to all of whom He promised to open out the earth and the world and the portals of the blessed and all joys and everlasting sense and eternal gladness. . . .

. . . When swords in the star-lit heaven appear by night towards dusk and towards dawn, and straightway dust is carried from heaven to earth, and all the brightness of the sun fails at midday from the heavens, and the moon's rays shine forth and come back to earth, and a sign comes from the rocks with dripping streams of blood: and in a cloud ye shall see a battle of foot and

horse, as a hunt of wild beasts, like unto misty clouds. This is the consummation of war which God, Whose dwelling is in heaven, is bringing to pass.

Cf. Sibyll. 4^{130} ff., "When a firebrand starting from a deep cavern in the land of Italy shall reach the broad heaven, and burn many a city and consume its men, and clouds of sooty ashes beset the great heaven, and grains fall from the sky like red earth, then recognise the wrath of the God of heaven." (Refers to eruption of Vesuvius.) Also 3^{71} ff., ^{184} ff., ^{669} ff., ^{796} ff., 4^{175}, 5^{342} ff., ^{512}.

Ass. Moses 10^{4} ff.:

And the earth shall tremble: to its confines shall it be shaken:
And the high mountains shall be made low
And the hills shall be shaken and fall.
And the horns of the sun shall be broken and he shall be turned into darkness;
And the moon shall not give her light, and be turned wholly into blood.
And the circle of the stars shall be disturbed.
And the sea shall retire into the abyss,
And the fountains of waters shall fail,
And the rivers shall dry up."

Cf. also Enoch 94^{6}; 2 Bar. 27, 48^{31} ff., 70^{2} ff.; 4 Ezra 5, 13^{17}, 9^{1}, 6^{20}, 8^{63}; Apoc. Noah 80^{4}; Jub. 23^{12} ff., 36^{10}; 2 Macc. 5^{2}.

Cf. also 4 Ezra 7^{26}, 11, 12, 13 (Apocrypha); T. Jos. 19; Ass. Moses (first century A.D.) 10; 2 Baruch (first. century A.D.) 39.

Let us now summarise and illustrate some of the leading ideas in these apocalyptic writings, and it will be evident at once how they are both a development of Old Testament thought, and the source of much in the New.

In the first place notice that the writers have a much **wider and more detached view** of things than those of earlier days. Their dealings with and successive subjection to the great world-powers taught them to view history broadly and comprehensively; it was now something far grander and more complicated than the jealous care of a tribal deity for his chosen people. Their sufferings in this world made them despair utterly of it, and made them look to an "age to come," which should be as happy and as essentially good, as "this world" was hopeless and essentially evil.

Compare, *e.g.*, 4 Ezra 4^{26}, "The world hasteth fast to pass away. For it is not able to bear the things that are promised to the righteous in the times to come; for this world is full of sadness and infirmities."

8^{52}: "Unto you is paradise opened, the tree of life is planted, the time to come is prepared, plenteousness is made ready, a city is builded, rest is allowed, goodness is perfected, wisdom being perfect aforehand. The root of evil is sealed up from you, weakness is done away from you, and death is hidden; hell and corruption are fled into forgetfulness: sorrows are passed away, and in the end is shown the treasure of immortality."

In the New Testament we have mention of the "Children of this world" (Lk. 20^{34}); those who have left all for Christ's sake and the gospel's, are to receive much more in this world, and in the world to come eternal life (Lk. 18^{30}). St. Paul says that "the fashion of this world passeth away" (1 Cor. 7^{31}); 2 Pet. 3^{10} describes the destruction of it; and St. John habitually contrasts the "world" with the kingdom of God.

History not only embraced the whole earth; and man's destiny, and in particular that of the chosen people, was not only limited to this life; but there were other powers at work besides God Himself. Under Persian influence had grown up a wide belief in the existence of **angels and spirits,** both good and bad; some of these had their due mission and place in the order of the universe; cf. the angels of the winds, clouds, darkness, hail, frost, fire, the seasons, day and night, etc. (Jub. 2^{2}, cf. Ps. 104.) Others had higher rank, such as the Angel of Jehovah (Old Testament), the Angel of the Presence (Isa. 63^{9}; Jub. 2^{2}); and the angels who spoke with the seers of the apocalyptic visions, many of whom are named, *e.g.* Raphael, Uriel, Gabriel, Michael, etc. National guardian angels (Dan. 10^{13}, ^{20}) are also alluded to.

But there were evil angels as well, who had rebelled against the Most High, and had lost their places in the heavenly order. To them was ascribed the origin of evil in the world, and so this world became the natural sphere for their evil energies, and therefore hopeless and worthless for man. In Enoch 69^{2} their chiefs are

mentioned, and their leader is Azazel, identified with Beliar and Satan (Lev. 16^{8}). Thus grows up the idea of a personal devil, who makes it his business to persecute and to tempt the Saints of the Most High. (Dan. 10^{13}.) In the Old Testament Satan is a kind of informer, who accuses men to God (*see* Job 1^{6}; Zech. 3^{1}; Rev. 12^{10}); here he is God's rival and opponent.

Consequently there grew up what is known as a **dualistic idea of the world,** which represents it as the battlefield of two contending forces, good and evil, neither for the present able to subdue the other, but each force predominating in turn. The material conception had given place to the spiritual, the natural to the supernatural. The conflict is already noticed in the Old Testament, and the victory ultimately assured to God and His Saints. (Cf. Dan. 10^{13}, 7^{18}, ^{27}.)

The idea grew and developed largely under Persian influence, in whose theology the two powers of good and evil, light and darkness, Ormazd and Ahriman, with the final victory of good over evil, held a leading place. And it finds ample expression in apocalyptic writings.

T. Zeb. 9^{8}, "redeem all the captivity of the sons of men from Beliar." (Cf. T. Dan. 5^{10}.)

Jub. 23^{29}, "No Satan nor any evil destroyer."

Enoch 54^{6}, "Michael and Gabriel and Raphael and Phanuel shall take hold of them on that day, and cast them on that day into the burning furnace, that the Lord of Spirits may take vengeance on them for their unrighteousness in becoming subject to Satan and leading astray those who dwell on the earth" (*i.e*

the hosts of Azazel). (T. Dan. 3^6, 5^6 ff., 6^1; T. Gad. 4^7; T. Asher 6^4; Ass. Mos. 10^1.)

Mart. Isa. 2^4, "The angel of lawlessness, who is the ruler of this world, is Beliar." (T. Levi. 18^{12}. Fairweather, B. G., pp. 48, 266, 271, 282, 295; Oesterley, M. I., ch. 13.)

The influence of this strain of thought on the New Testament is evident at once from our Lord's words about the devil and his angels, Satan and his kingdom, Satan falling from heaven as lightning, the casting out of the prince of this world (Lk. 11^{20}, 10^{18}; Jn. 12^{31}). St. John's gospel is largely coloured by this dualism; the Revelation, especially ch. 13, naturally has many affinities with Jewish apocalypse, and St. Paul's words in 2 Thess. 2, of the Antichrist all derive from this source. (Cf. Eph. 2^2, 6^{12}.)

The final conflict and victory are described as "the **Day of Jehovah,**" "that day," "the last days," a phrase found in the Old Testament. (Cf. Amos 5^{18}; Isa. 2–4; Joel 2; Jer. 46^{10}; Zeph. 1^7, ^{14}; Zech. 12^3, 13^1, 14^1; Mal. 4^5.)

In the Old Testament this is synonymous with the Messianic or Golden age, the day of vengeance on Israel's enemies and of unlimited prosperity. In apocalypse it covers the same idea, with all the varying developments of it.

Cf. Enoch 10^{12}, "the day of their judgment and of their consummation." (16^1, 22^4, ^{13}, 97^3, 100^4.)

Wisd. 3^{18}, "day of decision."

(Oesterley, L. T., pp. 12, 20; Oesterley, M. I., chaps. 11, 12, 16.)

This day is regarded variously as distant or imminent; sometimes the times are so unfavourable that much patience is counselled until the divine purposes shall ripen, and the power of evil shall have spent itself; sometimes things are so bad that the writers feel that the end cannot be far off. (Cf. Isa. 26^{20}; Dan. 7^{25}, $12^{4, 6, 7, 9}$ ff.)

Some writers hold that the order of all things is **predetermined and fixed,** and the whole course of history is mapped out by them into periods. (4 Ezra 4^{36} (note); Ezek. 4^{6}; Dan 9^{24}, 11^{29}, $12^{7, 11}$, 9^{2}; Enoch $90^{1, 5}$, 93, 91^{12-17} (10 weeks); Sibyll. 4^{47}, 3 (generations); 2 Baruch 27^{1}, 53 (12 clouds); 4 Ezra $7^{30, 43}$, 14^{11} (12 periods); T. Levi 17^{11} (7 weeks); Ass. Mos. 10^{12} (world lasts 4250 years); Enoch (world lasts 10,000 years); Enoch, Slavonic (world lasts 7000 years).)

For this compare Rev. 5 (7 seals), 20^{6}; Mt. 24^{36}; Mk. 13^{32}; 1 Cor. 15^{23} ff.; 2 Thess. 2^{3}; 4 Ezra $11^{39, 44}$, 14^{11}. (Cf., too, Rom. 13^{11}, 1 and 2 Thess; Lk. 19^{11}; Mk. 13^{32}, 9^{1}; Mt. 16^{28}, 24^{34}, 10^{23}; 2 Tim. 4^{8}, $1^{12, 18}$; 1 Cor. 3^{13}.) (Fairweather, B. G., p. 296 ff.)

The end, the day of Jehovah, the coming of the Messiah, is to be preceded by **signs and wonders,** and above all by great suffering and tribulation. This is found in the Old Testament: *e.g.* Amos $5^{16-18, 20}$; Isa. 13^{6} ff., 24^{3} ff., $19, 23$; Zeph. 1^{14}; Joel 2^{1} ff., 2^{30}, 3^{15}; Dan. 12^{1}.

For parallels to this in New Testament: cf. Acts 2^{17}; Mt. 24^{3-31}; 2 Pet. 3^{8} ff. (Fairweather, B. G., p. 267; Hastings, i., p. 748a; E. Bibl. 1348, 1356 ff.; Oesterley, L. T., pp. 14, 77.)

When the end comes it will include a vast **summoning of the nations** of the world, for the purpose of worshipping and serving Jehovah, or of being punished and destroyed, according to the varying ideas of the writers. Some, like 2 Isaiah, looked forward to their sharing in the great Kingdom; others like the writer of Isaiah 63^{4}, anticipated their destruction, without which the blessings to Israel could not be realised. (Cf. pro-Gentile; Isa. 2^{2}, (Mic. 4^{1}), 11^{12}, 66^{18}; Zech. 2^{10}; anti-Gentile; Isa. 13, 34; Zeph. 3^{8}; Hag. 2^{31}.)

T. Asher 7^{3}, "The Most High . . . shall save Israel and all the Gentiles."

T. Levi 4^{4}, "The Lord shall visit all the Gentiles in His tender mercies for ever."

T. Levi 18^{9}, "The Gentiles shall be multiplied in knowledge upon the earth, and enlightened through the grace of the Lord." (Cf. Enoch 50^{2}, 90^{30}, 10^{21}.)

Jub. 23^{24}, "The sinners, the Gentiles."

Jub. 23^{30}, "They shall . . . drive out their adversaries . . . and shall see all their judgments and all their curses on their enemies."

Ass. Moses 10^{7}, "The Most High . . . will appear to punish the Gentiles." (Cf. 2 Bar. 72^{2} ff.; Enoch 37–70; 4 Ezra 7^{36}, 13.)

Of this, again, are echoes found in the New Testament. Thus the world-kingdom finds its place in the Temptation of Christ; and while national ideals have given place to

ethical, the destruction of the ungodly is clearly laid down in 2 Thess. 1^{7}. (Oesterley, L. T., 49, 106.)

God Himself is to be revealed "at that time," though in the later books in the person of His Messiah. (Amos 5^{17}; Isa. 24^{23}, 66^{15}; Mal. 3^{1}; Mic. 1^{3}; Zeph. 3^{8}; Zech. 2^{13}; Enoch 1^{3}, 2^{2} (*see* p. 52 ff).)

He is to be revealed from Heaven with His **heavenly hosts**: Deut. 33^{2}; Dan. 7^{10}; Enoch 1^{9}; Mt. 26^{53}; 2 Thess. 1^{7}; Jude 14; 1 Thess. 4^{6}, 3^{13}; Mk. 8^{38}; Mt. 13^{41}.

In **clouds**: Isa. 19^{1}; Ps. 18^{10}; Dan. 7^{13}; 4 Ezra 13^{3}. Mt. 26^{64}; 1 Thess. 4^{17}; Acts 1^{9}. (Fairweather, B. G., p. 296.)

And **glory**: Enoch 45^{3} and note.

There is to be a **great conflict**: (cf. p. 97, *supra*); Ezek. 38^{14}–39^{16}; Zech. 14^{1-11}; T. Dan. 5^{10}; T. Reub. 6^{12}.

And a **judgment**: (*see* p. 57. Fairweather, B. G., 272, 287, 293, 276; Hastings, i., p. 749*a*; E. Bibl. 1356 ff., 1343; Oesterley, L. T., 23, 28, 86, 97.)

Great prosperity and blessings will follow (*see* p. 62; Oesterley, L. T., p. 101).

The scene is **a new heaven and a new earth** (*see* p. 63).

Echoes of these ideas are found in the New Testament: **conflict**: 2 Thess. 2^{8}; Rev. 12^{7}, 19^{19}, 20^{8}.

Judgment: Jude 14; 2 Thess. 1^{8}; Jn. 16^{11}, 12^{31}, 5^{27}; Mt. 25^{31}, 19^{28}, 18^{9}; 1 Cor. 3^{13}, 4^{5}; Lk. 22^{30}.

Prosperity: 2 Thess. 1^{7}; Rev. 21^{4}, 22; Mt. 19^{29}, 13^{43}.

New heaven and earth: Rev. 21, 22; 2 Pet. 3.

These ideas have been beautifully and grandly used

and worked up by Milton in "Paradise Lost," and "Paradise Regained."

Notice also the **individual** aspect of the "last times," *i.e.* that personal as well as collective retribution or reward is promised; and with this the belief in a resurrection from the dead and a personal immortality.

See p. 83; and cf. Enoch 104^{1}, "your names are written before the glory of the Great One"; 2 Ezra 7^{105}, "then every one shall bear his own righteousness or unrighteousness."

All this is a clear preparation for the teaching of Christ, although it varies much in character and scope. Thus some books assure a resurrection only to the nation, and deny it to the Gentiles; some to the good only, not to the wicked. But whatever the details, the idea was clearly taught, and was ready to receive the fuller revelation made by Christ, and the teaching of the New Testament. (Jn. 11^{24}, 5^{29}, $6^{40, 54}$; 1 Cor. 15; 1 Thess. 4^{13}.)

Summing up the foregoing remarks, we may say that apocalypse certainly paved the way for Christ by its idealism, its stubborn faith in the goodness and power of God and the righteous ordering of the world. It kept hope alive, under the most hopeless of circumstances, and continually directed the eyes of the people forward and upward. It maintained that God had a definite purpose for the world, and that this purpose was being worked out, even if slowly, even if events seemed to contradict and disprove it; and that good would ultimately prevail.

And it widened the conception of the Messianic hope; to a certain extent set it free from the trammels of nationalism (though events were always tending to narrow it down again); induced a more catholic atmosphere; and encouraged the growth of a fuller belief in the supernatural and spiritual world.

It also helped the development of the belief in a future life, in personal responsibility, in a judgment and retribution. It provided Christ with at least one definite title, Son of Man. It contributed a suggestion to the solution of the problem of the presence of evil in the world, a hypothesis which is still both acceptable and workable. And even if these conceptions needed the purification and correction and closer definition that they received from the hands of Jesus Christ, their contribution to the religious beliefs of the world is not to be despised. (Especially Fairweather, B. G., Ch. 6, 7; Hastings, i., 108 ff., 742 ff.; Oesterley, pp. 90 ff., 198.)

CHAPTER VI

THE SYNAGOGUE—SECTS AND PARTIES

The Synagogue, to the influence of which allusion has already been made, was a very ancient institution, dating from and a necessity of the period subsequent to the Captivity. When resident in a foreign land, and with the Temple in ruins, the Jews would feel more than ever the need of worship and of a rallying point in the sphere of religion. Amid the sights and examples of heathenism, they would cling still more closely to their Divine Law. And there naturally grew up the practice of holding meetings for common worship and instruction, and these in time developed into the Synagogue (the word is Greek for "meeting" or "congregation"; cf. "the Tent of meeting" (Exod. 33^{7}, R.V.). It is possible that these are alluded to in Ps. 74^{8}; and wherever Jews lived, in or out of Palestine, there we may be sure that a Synagogue was soon established. The Hellenist Jew of the Dispersion could only hope for a visit to the Temple once or twice in a lifetime, and the peasants of Palestine would only go for the great feasts. So for both the Synagogue provided for the needs of everyday life, and kept alive the fire of religion. Every village of any size had its

Synagogue, with its regular procedure and ministry; and in the large towns there would be several, some being owned by large families, like private chapels, and some by trade-guilds. Some were owned by Hellenists (Acts 6^9), and these would therefore be of more liberal tendencies.

In structure they somewhat resembled the Temple, and were orientated so that the congregation faced towards Jerusalem as they worshipped (cf. 1 Kings 8^{29-38}; Ps. 5^7, 138^2; Dan. 6^{10}; Jonah 2^4). At the end nearest Jerusalem was an ark or chest containing the sacred books, and in front of it a curtain, like the Veil of the Temple. Between the curtain and the congregation was a platform, and round it the "chief seats," like the "set fawr" in a Welsh chapel, coveted by the Scribes, elders, and the vulgar rich, and reserved also for the officials (Mt. 23^6; Jas. 2^2; and cf. Ps. 107^{32}). On the platform was a seat for the reader or preacher, and a desk for the books. The congregation occupied the rest of the building, the sexes being separated.

The Sabbath service consisted of the recitation of the Shema (*i.e.* Deut. 6^{4-9}, 11^{13-21}; Num. 15^{37-41}), answering somewhat to our Creed. This was followed by prayer, said by the leader alone, the congregation standing and saying "Amen" at the close. This prayer was part of a regular Liturgy, and may be read in Edersheim, I., p. 439. Other prayers were added at discretion, both written and *extempore*. Then came the reading of the Law, with its interpretation. The Chazzān (*i.e.* "Minister," Lk. 4^{20}), corresponding to

our Parish Clerk or Sexton, brought a roll out of the chest, and various members of the congregation were summoned to read. There was a prescribed Lectionary, and a lesson from the Prophets followed that from the Law (Lk. 16^{29}; Acts 14^{15}, 15^{21}); and the Hebrew original was then translated, and sometimes paraphrased, into Aramaic by the Methurgeman or Interpreter. This translation and paraphrasing is alluded to in Neh. 8^{8}, and later it developed into the Targum. After the reading came a Sermon, delivered by a Scribe, or some other male member of the congregation held to be competent. (Cf. Lk. 4^{16} ff.; Acts 13^{15}.) Questions were sometimes asked, and objections raised, and answered; and the giving of a blessing concluded the service. Preaching, it may be added, was highly thought of.

The management of the Synagogue was essentially democratic, and the ministers officiated by leave of the "rulers of the Synagogue" (Lk. 13^{14}; Acts 13^{15} —Jairus was one of these, Mk. 5^{22}), a kind of Church Council; ordination was not essential. The rulers also had charge of the Synagogue business generally, and of the discipline of their flock. In fact, we have a close parallel to the Jewish Synagogue in the modern Nonconformist Chapel. (Also in the Telugu village chapel. See "East and West," April, 1915, pp. 211, 212.")

It is clear how wonderfully adapted was this institution to the Jewish needs. It was so elastic, and so freed from the restrictions of central authority, that worship and instruction were possible under all circumstances. To it was undoubtedly due the persistence

of Judaism and the preservation of religion; it ensured that every Jew was instructed in his nation's history and ideals, and brought at some time or other within the influence of spiritual things. As Philo points out (V. Mosis, 3. 27), "Our houses of prayer in the several towns are none other than institutions for teaching prudence and bravery, self-control and justice, piety and holiness, and every virtue which the human and the Divine recognise and enjoin." (Cf. Jos., C. Apion, 2. 18, 19, quoted above, p. 38.)

But the influence of the Synagogue went further yet; it is still at work. For the Christian Church and Church Service are merely adaptations of it; in its architectural arrangement (partly), in its use of prayers, lections, preaching, and in its organisation and ministry, the modern Parish Church is a lineal descendant of the Synagogue. And this fact is due in turn to its work of preparing the minds and the hearts of the Jews, by instructing them in the Prophets and pointing them to the Messiah, and kindling in them the never-dying hope which is so remarkable a feature of their creed. It encouraged a truly spiritual form of religion. The approach to God was not conditioned by priest and victim and Temple. Each faithful soul might find Him at all times and in all places in prayer; laymen as well as clerics might instruct their fellows and lead their worship.

Piety, therefore, of the elementary kind, and independence of institutional religion, were both fostered by the Synagogue system; and both these tendencies in human nature received still further encouragement

by a body nowhere mentioned in the New Testament, but who must have exercised considerable indirect influence upon the national religious consciousness. Even Herod the Great found it politic to cultivate their friendship. This body, named the **Essenes**, represented the monastic tendency in men; and was a brotherhood which combined the strictest Judaism with some elements of both Greek and Oriental religion. In spirit they have been compared both to the Quakers and the Doukhobors, while in their devotion to the Law and their love of ritual and ceremonial purifications they out-Phariseed the Pharisees, and their life was tied up with all manner of strict regulations and procedures. They were as extreme and as ascetic as any brotherhood could be; and while they pressed their principles even to absurdity, their self-sacrifice and devotion reached an amazing standard, and called forth the admiration of their contemporaries, against whose lax lives their existence was a continual protest.

In number they were about four thousand, and their existence dated from about 150 B.C. Like the Zadokites (*see* p. 126), they originated in a reform movement. The name may mean "pious," and be derived from the Aramaic equivalent of "Chasid"; and it is quite possible that they were an offshoot of the Chasidim (*see* p. 134), although diverging widely from them. For while the Chasidim and their descendant Pharisees were strict Jews, the Essenes embraced a number of both Greek and Oriental doctrines and practices, which were markedly un-Jewish. Dr. Edersheim (I., p. 332) pleads with some force for the meaning of "outsiders,"

and another suggested meaning is "silent." In any case their actual origin cannot now be determined.

Josephus and Philo tell us that they had communities in every city and village, so that those who travelled about preaching could always find others with whom to lodge. According to Pliny, a large community flourished on the western shores of the Dead Sea, a natural result of their tendency to separate from their fellow-men and their love of seclusion. Their occupation was mainly agricultural, together with the study of Scripture, and they practised community of goods. Needless to say, they eschewed marriage, having a very low opinion of the character of women. Philo says (quoted by Eusebius, Prep. Evang., 8. 11. 8): "No Essene marries, because women are selfish things and inordinately jealous, and apt to unsettle men and lead them astray by their perpetual wiles. For they use flattering words and other hypocrisies, as if acting a part, beguiling both eye and ear, and deceiving men into their obedience, and imposing on the master mind. If they have children, they are filled with conceit and boldness of speech, and what they previously hinted at secretly and deceitfully, this they now utter with a yet greater effrontery; and without any shame they force men to do things which bar them from the society of others." There was, however, one order among them who permitted marriage with women who had undergone a three years' test. (Jos., B. J., 2. 8. 13.) Their numbers they maintained by the free entry of recruits and by the adoption of young children. They were the first society in the world to condemn slavery and

to renounce it. They were democratic in government, and elected their own priests and officials.

Here is part of Josephus' account of them (B. J., 2. 8. 3–6): "These men are despisers of riches, and share their goods in a manner that compels our admiration. . . . It is a law among them that those who come to them must let what they have be common to the whole order . . . and so there is, as it were, one patrimony among all the brethren. They think that oil is a defilement; and if any one of them be anointed unwillingly it is wiped off his body. They hold it good to go unwashed, and also to wear white garments. . . . They have no one certain city, but many of them dwell in every city; and if any of their sect came from other places, what they have lies open for them, just as if it were their own. . . . There is, in every city where they live, one specially appointed to take care of strangers, and to provide garments and other necessaries for them. . . . They do not allow the change of garments or shoes, till they be first entirely torn to pieces or worn out by time. Nor do they buy or sell anything to one another, but every one of them gives what he hath to him that wanteth it, and receives from him again in lieu of it what may be convenient for himself; and although there be no requital made, they are fully allowed to take what they want of whomsoever they please.

"And as for their piety towards God, it is very extraordinary; for before sunrise they speak not a word about profane matters, but offer certain prayers which they have received from their forefathers, as if they made supplication for its rising. After this every one

of them is sent away by their overseers to exercise some of those arts wherein they are skilled, in which they labour with great diligence until the fifth hour. After which they assemble themselves together into one place, and when they have clothed themselves with white veils, they then bathe their bodies in cold water. And after this purification is over, they every one meet in an apartment of their own, into which it is not permitted to any of another sect to enter. And so, being cleansed, they go into their dining-hall as if into a holy temple, and sit down quietly, while the baker sets loaves before them in order, and the cook one plateful of one kind of food.* A priest says grace, and it is unlawful for any one to taste of the food before grace be said. The same priest says grace again after dinner; and when they begin and when they end they praise God, as He that bestows their food upon them. After this they lay aside their white garments, and betake themselves to their labours until the evening; then they return home to supper after the same manner, and if there be any strangers there, they sit down with them. Nor is there ever any clamour or disturbance to pollute their house, but they give one another leave to speak in their turn; which silence, thus kept in their house, appears to foreigners like some tremendous mystery; the cause of which is the perpetual sobriety they exercise, and the same settled measure of food and drink that is allotted them, and that such is abundantly sufficient for them.

* Opera-goers will remember the striking parallel to this in Wagner's "Parsifal."

". . . They dispense their anger after a just manner, and restrain their passion. They are eminent for fidelity, and are the ministers of peace. Whatsoever they say also is firmer than an oath, and swearing they avoid and esteem worse than perjury; for they say that he who cannot be believed without swearing by God is condemned already. They also take great pains in studying the writings of the ancients, and choose out of them what is most for the advantage of their soul and body, and they inquire after such roots and medicinal stones as may cure their diseases."

We may add, also, that they refused to sacrifice to animals, a practice which cut them off from the worship of the Temple, but they sent their offerings to it every year. Philo says that their sacrifice was that of a devout mind, and their meals as described above bear a sacramental character. They believed in the immortality of the soul, with future rewards and punishments, but they denied a resurrection to the body. The ancient accounts seem to imply that they worshipped the sun as well as God; and they used an allegorical method of interpreting the Scriptures, to which they were devoted, especially the Law of Moses.

A candidate for membership had to pass through a three years' probation or novitiate, and was invested with a small mattock, a girdle, and a white robe, symbolic of discipline and purity. At the end of three years, if approved, he took tremendous oaths of fidelity to the rules of the order, and proceeded to further instruction in their secret teaching. They were graded in four orders, and even the touch from one of a lower order

involved defilement, which had to be removed by ceremonial washing.

They added divination to their practical activities, with the knowledge of healing, spells and charms and drugs; and the same practical tendency showed itself in their teaching, which, while largely mystic and speculative, and occupied with the spiritual world (they had a highly developed angelology), yet avoided speculations which had no ethical value or could not be turned to effect in daily affairs.

It has been suggested that, owing to their being unmentioned in the New Testament, they and Christianity were closely connected. Certainly they had a good deal in common. They practised community of goods; studied and encouraged prophecy; some early Christians, at all events, advocated celibacy; they were democratic in government and loyal to authority; they dined in common, and in the Eucharist and Agape was a parallel to the Essene meals, almost sacramental in character; they were charitable and industrious. Our Lord's teaching about oaths and the instructions to the Seventy and the Epistle of St. James resemble Essene teaching and practice. But it is a mistake to ascribe an Essene origin to Christianity; these similarities could be extended to other systems also, and some are merely accidental, and originate in the common nature and needs of men; and while the Essenes were severe ascetics, "the Son of Man came eating and drinking"; and their respective doctrines regarding the Sabbath, the world, ceremonial purity, secrecy, the resurrection of the body, are entirely opposed. Their descendants are

rather to be found in the Gnostic sects which in the second century gave so much trouble to the Church; and these later tendencies may already be traced in the errors condemned by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Colossians.

They disappeared from history largely because they were few in number, and because their practices could only appeal to the few; their ideals were too lofty and their regulations too strict to be long maintained; but still more because Christianity deprived them of their reason for existence. The Church preached a stern morality, philanthropy, and a spiritual religion; was itself a brotherhood; reckoned with the good and the truths that all religions had to offer; was democratic in organisation, and eschatological in teaching. It is probable that some of those who survived the terrors of A.D. 70 became Christians, the others developing into the later Gnostics.

Besides the leading parties in public politics, of whom more later, there were minor parties, factions, and movements among the people generally. The feud with the **Samaritans** was very bitter, and it dated right back to the days of the Return, when Joshua and Zerubbabel refused the aid of this mixed people (of Jewish and Assyrian descent) in the rebuilding of the Temple. References to this are found in the book of Nehemiah. This repulse embittered the Samaritans against the Jews; and the ready acceptance by the Samaritans of the Greek innovations of Antiochus Epiphanes increased the hostility of the Jews against them. In our Lord's day the Jews had "no dealings with

the Samaritans" (Jn. 4^9); the very name "Samaritan" was a term of abuse (Jn. 8^{48}); no traveller from Jerusalem to Galilee would go through Samaria if he could avoid it, but cross the Jordan and go round. The attention shown to the man who fell among thieves, and the gratitude of the healed leper, both take their chief value from the fact that the leper and the man who relieved the unfortunate traveller were both Samaritans, of an alien and hostile race (Lk. 10^{33}, 17^{18}). The Samaritans would not admit our Lord on one occasion, because He was professedly going to Jerusalem; and their hostility aroused the worst passions of two of His disciples, one of whom, be it noted, was afterwards the Apostle of Love (Lk. 9^{52}). At first, even our Lord forbade His disciples to preach in Samaria (Mk. 10^5); but it was one of the earliest places to receive Christianity afterwards, its evangelist, however, being a Greek, St. Philip; but the Jewish St. Peter and St. John made no hesitation to accept its allegiance to the Church (Acts 8^4; cf. also Jn. 4; Matthews, pp. 63, 141, 145, 207).

The **Galileans** shared the same enmity, though to a less extent. These highlanders, of a brave, healthy, and hardy stock, were of an even more fiery spirit than the Southern Jews. They had the reputation of being ignorant and uncultured; perhaps "Galilean" was to the Jew of Jerusalem very much what "Boeotian" was to the Athenian (cf. Acts 2^7); and their descent was partially tainted with Gentile blood. (In Isa. 9^1 we read "Galilee, *i.e.* the district, of the Gentiles".) Out of Galilee could arise no prophet (Jn. 7^{52}). In our Lord's time they had a bad name for lawlessness.

They had shown great opposition to Herod the Great at his accession, and the country had suffered much through their raids and his attempts to suppress them. Later, when Archelaus had succeeded him in Judaea, they again raised the standard of nationalist revolt; and yet another rising was headed by Judas of Galilee (see Acts 5^{37}; Jos., Ant. 18. 1. 1; B. J. 2. 8. 1), at the time of Quirinius' census. For some time, during our Lord's infancy, the country was overrun with the rebels, and a state of anarchy prevailed; and the sons of Judas, a generation later, followed in his steps, only, of course, to be similarly and ruthlessly put down.

The followers of Judas became the party of the **Zealots,** a kind of extreme "young Jew" party, who carried their nationalism to a fanatical extreme. They were an offshoot of Pharisaism (cf. the 6000 Pharisees who refused to take the oath of allegiance to Herod and the Emperor, Jos., Ant., 17. 2. 4; and also the fanatical outburst which led to the tearing down of Herod's eagle from the Temple Gate, 17. 6. 2–4; and p. 26 above), but their ideals were political rather than spiritual. These hotheads would have no sort of foreign domination, and they asserted their independence with the true martyr's spirit. "They have an inviolable attachment to liberty, and say that God is to be their only ruler and lord," says Josephus. "They do not value dying any kind of death, nor indeed do they heed the deaths of their relations and friends, nor can any such fear make them call any man lord." (Ant., 18. 1. 6.)

In the New Testament there is little mention of them,

but several traces of their influence are found. One of our Lord's disciples, possibly a member of His family, was a Zealot, *i.e.* St. Simon Zelotes or Cananean (*not* "Canaanite," as the Authorised Version wrongly has it; "Cananean" is Hebrew for the Greek "Zelotes" =fervent), and this has a twofold bearing on our Lord's position. It witnesses to His broad sympathies and catholicity; men of all ranks and types were included in the Twelve. And it laid Him open to grave suspicion of being a revolutionary. In fact, it is probable that the question about the tribute (Mt. 22^{15}) was due to a desire to test this suspicion (cf. Lk. 23^{2}, and 23^{5}, where the mention of Galilee carries a strong insinuation of sedition).

Moreover, the presence and influence of the Zealots gives additional point to our Lord's teaching about meekness in the Sermon on the Mount (Mt. 5^{5}, ^{9}, $^{39-41}$), and to His efforts at concealment (Mt. 16^{20}, 17^{9}; Mk. 7^{24}, ^{36}; Jn. 6^{15}), and the people's disgust at His failure to satisfy their ideals (Jn. 6^{66}). In Mt. 11^{12} there is a possible allusion to the Zealots, and undoubtedly the preaching of St. John Baptist fired many hearts, not a few of whom would have favoured hasty and "violent" methods. Probably the crowd from Galilee which accompanied Jesus to Jerusalem and formed the Palm Sunday procession included many of Zealot sympathies and ideals, hoping that He would at last declare Himself and give them a lead. It has even been suggested that Judas Iscariot planned the betrayal in order to force our Lord's hand (he and St. Simon Zelotes are closely mentioned in all lists of the Twelve); but there

is nothing in the Gospel narrative to suggest this, but rather the contrary. However, Judas' treachery may have been equally due to our Lord's failure to come up to his expectations.

We notice also that St. Paul and St. Peter found it necessary to be at great pains to emphasise and inculcate the peaceful and law-abiding character of the Christian (Rom. 13^{1} ff.; 1 Tim. 2^{1} ff.; 1 Pet. 2^{13} ff.).

Among themselves was organised a band of Sicarii or "Dagger-men," who went about armed among the crowds at feasts, looking for and taking opportunities for dealing a fatal blow at their supposed enemies. They are alluded to in Acts 21^{38}; and Josephus (B. J., 7. 10. 1) describes their obstinacy in refusing to own allegiance to the Emperor, and their marvellous endurance of great privations and tortures. It was they who precipitated the final war with the Romans, and contributed not a little to the internal dissensions which hastened the fall of Jerusalem. (*See* Fairweather, B. G., pp. 195–202.)

Besides these parties in the Jewish populace, there were also the Grecian Jews or **Hellenists.** (*See* Ch. IV.) These were largely the descendants of foreign Jews, *i.e.* Jews naturalised in foreign countries, and some the descendants of those native Jews who had accepted the innovations of Antiochus Epiphanes. The former were known technically as the "Dispersion." (*See* Jn. 7^{35}; Acts 2^{5}, 6^{1}; Jas. 1^{1}; 1 Pet. 1^{1}, R.V.) They were more liberal and broad-minded, owing to their contact with men of other habits and modes of thought,

and to the universal prevalence in other countries of Greek philosophy and literature; hence they were often at variance with their more conservative and stricter brethren. They had their own synagogues in Judaea, for the benefit of occasional residents or those who were finally domiciled in Palestine; for naturally here they were in a minority. Their numbers had increased largely under the influence of Herod the Great, and even Jerusalem had its amphitheatre and public games, and Greek dress and customs were common, in spite of the opposition and warnings of the orthodox. They, and their relations to the orthodox Jews, are illustrated by the story of St. Stephen (Acts 6, 7). (It should be noted that while the heart of Judaism was undoubtedly in Palestine, the bulk of the Jewish nation was domiciled elsewhere. Only a small proportion returned from the Babylonish exile; the bulk stayed behind; and there was a large settlement also in Egypt.) (*See* Ch. IV.)

The impression is already clear that the Jews were a most exclusive people. Their traditional faith in their choice by Jehovah to be His own especial people, and the possession of a Law (certainly lofty and unique), caused them to draw a hard and fast line once and for all between them and all other peoples. The Pharisee was the true representative of Judaism; and while here and there might be a renegade, who for family or social or commercial or political reasons broke with his own people, the vast majority were as clannish, and jealous of their pure descent, as a people could be. We

have already seen the deference paid to this by the Romans, with the natural result that it was thereby further strengthened, and the national pride flattered. The privileges obtained, as, for instance, at Alexandria, where two-fifths of the population was Jewish, hardened the barrier between them and the Gentile. It was everywhere their pride and boast that they had "Abraham to their father" (Mt. 3^9; Jn. 8^{33}); and the taunts of Christ that the prophets Elijah and Elisha were acknowledged by the Gentiles of Sidon and Syria roused them to fury (Lk. 4^{24}); "salvation" was recognised, or at least claimed, to be "of the Jews" (Jn. 4^{24}); the statements of St. Stephen, while nothing more than the plain truth, that Judaism had not always been tied to the Temple and the Promised Land, caused his death; and so enraged were they, that he had no semblance of a sentence, but was madly lynched by those who should have been the "grave and reverend signiors" of the people (Acts 7).

If one is inclined to marvel at this spirit, one must remember that local and national pride is one of the hardest things to kill. It exists in many rural villages and provincial towns; a true gipsy is as exclusive and proud as the Jew; Welsh and Irish and Scotch refuse to be amalgamated entirely with their fellow-Britons; the ties of blood are far stronger than any surface-ties of international Socialism and ecclesiastical relations; war and opposition only consolidate a nation and heal its disunions. So with the Jew; from earliest days he had been told to keep aloof from the Gentile; that he was the chosen of Jehovah from among all the

families of the earth; he had great qualities, which raised him above other men; he had won his inheritance by hard fighting and perseverance; his hope of future greatness was high and vivid. Opposition only intensified his spirit and quickened his ideals.

In the higher ranks of the nation certain clearly defined parties or groups may be discerned and named. One of these, a small group, took their name from the **Herodian** family. Probably they were men who had given up all hope of a full measure of temporal power, and had not risen to a spiritual ideal for their nation. Sadducean in temperament (cf. Mk. 8^{15} with Mt. 16^{6}), they were willing to compromise. They recognised the very great debt that Judaism owed to Herod the Great; for he had brought them prosperity and comfort, had built and beautified cities for them, and a harbour; he had made concessions to their prejudices, even if he had at times flouted them; he had been generous in famine time, if crafty and unscrupulous at others; and, above all, by his astuteness he had procured for them the friendship of Rome, and as much independence as they were ever likely to obtain. When Herod's kingdom, partitioned at his death among his sons, was put under a Roman procurator, the spirit of this Herodian party was challenged, and revived. Their political vision was keen, and they wished, and would have been content, to have had the kingdom re-established in Herod's line; so they would have been able to make the best of both this world and the next.

It was doubtless this spirit which induced our Lord to warn His disciples against "the leaven of Herod"

(Mk. 8^{15}); and it is remarkable, and a proof of the opposition which Jesus aroused, that the Pharisees should have joined forces with them, and still more with the Sadducees, in plotting to destroy Him (Mt. 22^{16}; Mk. 3^{6}. It was they who propounded the question about the tribute-money). For the Pharisees were nationalists and religious to the backbone, and could not tolerate the worldly spirit of the Herodians; they were to the Pharisees what the Hellenising Jews had been to the Chasidim in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes; and Herod's insults to Judaism were too great to be overlooked. Had he not erected heathen temples, introduced heathen sports and games, erected heathen trophies in Jerusalem, and an eagle over the Temple-gate? Had he not degraded the High-Priesthood, and destroyed the Maccabean dynasty?

CHAPTER VII

THE SADDUCEES AND PHARISEES

ANOTHER clearly defined and important party were the **Sadducees.** Their origin must be sought right away back in the days of the Return, when some of the priestly families (*e.g.* Eliashib, Neh. 13^4; Ezra 9^2) contracted matrimonial alliances with Gentiles, and in other ways departed from the traditional exclusiveness of the Jews, introducing more liberal and broad-minded, not to say more lax, views of life. (This, be it noted, is a tendency found in all communities; and, naturally, the Jews were no exception to the rest of humanity. Thus, in religion, the monastic tendency found expression in Essenism, the legal and ritualistic in Pharisaism, the liberal, and also the conservative, in Sadduceeism, the pietistic in the Synagogue system.) In a later age, they naturally accepted the Hellenistic innovations of Antiochus Epiphanes, together with the loosening of ancient restrictions and the luxuries and pleasures of Greek life. (Cf. 1 Macc. 1^{11} ff., ^{43} ff.; Zadokite Fragment, 1^8 ff., 8^1, and 9^{19}, ^{20}. "Their wine is the poison of dragons and the cruel venom of asps. The dragons are the kings of the Gentiles and their

wine is their ways; and the venom of asps is the head of the kings of Javan, *i.e.* Greece, who came to execute vengeance upon them ¨.) Liberalism and worldliness are often not far apart, and when the Maccabean line had raised the nation to a position of independence and given it power, the Sadducees upheld their efforts to maintain these.

It was at this time, under John Hyrcanus, B.C. 135–105, that the two names Sadducee and Pharisee first appeared, the former as probably as not being a title recalling the Zadok, High Priest in David's and Solomon's reigns, the nominally ancestral founder of the priestly families (Ezek. 40^{46}, 43^{19}, 44^{15}, 48^{11}). The later Maccabeans declined from the purely spiritual ideals of their ancestors, and their aims were mainly secular, to secure and increase their national position. This disappointed and alienated the more religious members of the community; these, when the rift widened into a breach, became the Pharisees; and the others, the ruling, aristocratic class, who had enjoyed wealth and position for generations, followed their natural bent, and adhered to the leaders whose rule would secure to them that which lay nearest their hearts.

Their history also influenced their position not a little. The Sadducees had grown up under the shelter of an "Established Church." They were the Sons of Zadok, and their right to the priesthood was unquestioned and of very ancient date. A long history was theirs, and their traditional position was of great honour and dignity. Novelty and innovation would not commend itself to men of such ancestry. The original

written Law was naturally their charter; the principle of development and growth would seem to lessen its authority; a conservative, almost liberal, method of interpretation would be preferable, especially if there were tendencies abroad which resulted in far-fetched and fanciful conclusions. It is unjust to say that the Sadducees were altogether irreligious; in a sense no Jew was without religion; and their very position was that of champions of the original Law as against modern accretion and unwarranted development.

In fact, we must probably revise the traditional estimate of the Sadducees, or at least recognise that it applies only to part of their number; for it does not square exactly with the facts; it is based largely on Josephus, and his view has been justly criticised. (*See* Oesterley, "Books of the Apocrypha," p. 135 ff.) Thus it has been said that they denied any part to God in the course of this world's events, any form of predestination or control; "they felt no need of a Divine providence, but relied entirely on their own resources"; "they claimed nothing from God, nor He from them." (Cf. Jos., B. J., 2. 8. 14; Ant. 13. 5. 9.) But if this be so, it conflicts entirely with the doctrine of God in the Pentateuch, which they so stoutly upheld. (Cf. Acts 5^{17} ff., where the Sanhedrin, with its Sadducean majority, accepts the words of Gamaliel about the Christian movement being a work of God; and Mt. 3^{7}.)

We must also beware of ascribing to the Sadducees a denial of a future life. They certainly denied the resurrection of the body (*see* Mt. 22^{23}; Acts 23^{8}; cf. 4^{1}), as it could not be proved from the Pentateuch; but

there is only one reason why they should deny the continued existence of the soul after death, which, if it only be the traditional shadowy existence in Sheol, is implied all through the Old Testament. This reason is that they were forced into it by opposition to the Pharisees. From this position they might have developed a disbelief in a judgment, and hence in man's responsibility to God; whence again into the magnifying of man's self-dependence, and the separation of God from the world; a comfortable set of doctrines, to those who preferred the world to God.

This confusion of terms, between the resurrection of the body and a future life, may have given rise to the assertion that the Sadducees disbelieved in angels and spirits (Acts 23^{8}); for in the Pentateuch are numerous references to angelic visits. What is probably meant is that they denied that men after death became angels or spirits, as when it was said of St. Peter, "It is his angel" (Acts 12^{15}).

Moreover, there is convincing proof that they numbered among them not a few who were devout-minded, even if opposed to the developments taught by the Pharisees; *i.e.* they were opposed to the principle of development, like the devout souls to-day who cannot away with the same principle as expressed in the critical and modernist movements. In the interesting "Zadokite Fragment," it is recorded how about the year 176 B.C., *i.e.* half a century before the parties were clearly divided and opposed, a reform movement from among the priests was inaugurated. This resulted in an open breach with the worldly and Hellenising priests, and a

secession to Damascus, and the founding of the "New Covenant," by the "penitents" as the Reformers styled themselves, and a later return to Jerusalem, with the claim to be the true Sons of Zadok and heirs of the promises. (*See* 6^{1}, 8^{6}, ^{15}, 9^{28}, ^{37}.)

It is interesting to note that the Zadokites allowed a certain amount of development in doctrine, and also strongly upheld the prophetical teaching. They believed in a blessed future life, in both predestination and free-will. (*See* 9^{7} and Charles, A. and P., II., pp. 785, 789, 791, 796.) Dr. Oesterley further holds that traces of their teaching, by no means unworthy, may be found in such books as Sirach, the Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs, and Jubilees (*op. cit.*, pp. 148–151).

One more point may be added. In Mt. 5^{17} ff., if our Lord's meaning is pressed (and not taken in a merely general sense), it upholds the Sadducean position rather than that of the Pharisees. In Mt. 15^{1} ff. he clearly condemns the Pharisaic "tradition." (Cf. 23^{1} ff.; Mk. 7^{1} ff.; Lk. 11^{37} ff.)

The Sadducees cannot be described as merely worldly in their earlier days; but there is no doubt, when all the facts are considered, that they declined sadly from their first ideals, just as the Pharisees also largely declined. The reform movement of the Zadokites shows whither the main body were in effect wending. Centuries of wealth and position had blighted the flower of spiritual religion in them, and the love of this world reduced their interest, and ultimately their belief, in the next. Religion came to be with them more a subject of controversy, a mark of ancient respectability, and a source of revenue.

They have been compared to the cold Churchmen of the eighteenth century, to whom Christianity was a habit, a decency of life, but who strenuously and indignantly resisted any suggestion that it should weigh with their consciences or affect their personal habits, to whom Methodism or any enthusiasm was anathema. For another modern parallel we may compare the picture drawn by Trollope of Archdeacon Grantly and his fellows at Barchester.

Viewed in another light, they illustrate the effect of reaction. The Pharisees cared for nothing except the Law; they had even allowed themselves to be massacred by Antiochus Epiphanes, rather than desecrate the Sabbath by fighting. (1 Macc. 1^{62}, $2^{23, 42}$, 7.) To the Sadducee such fanaticism was mere folly, especially when the Law included, as it did to the Pharisee, a large and increasing body of oral teaching. So he allowed himself increasing freedom as to obeying the restrictions of his faith, and the removal of restraint induced laxity. He denied the oral interpretation of the Law, such as had grown up under the care of generations of Scribes, adhering only to the written text; and the faith which he had begun thus to doubt, he came eventually to disbelieve, and to disregard. He professed to uphold the practice of virtue for its own sake, and as against the formalism and ritualism of the Pharisee, without hope of future reward; he ended in a cold rationalism, which denied any future where a reward might be possible. So, too, among the Greeks, Zeno taught self-restraint as the highest virtue, and the Stoics ended by repressing all human instincts and affections. Epicurus taught

that in virtue lay the only true pleasure, and his followers lived as if pleasure-seeking was the only true virtue. (For this effect of reaction, cf. a striking article in the *Times* of April 14th, 1915, by Mr. George Russell, entitled, "The Spiritual Conflict".) Mere denial, mere protestantism, can only result in spiritual death. Growth, progress, development, are necessary to life in the spiritual, as well as the material world. If the Pharisees went off into strange paths in their interpretation of the Law and the development of their faith, at least theirs was a living creed. It was the Pharisees who survived the fall of Jerusalem and preserved the identity of the people; the Sadducees disappeared at once.

In our Lord's day they were outwardly in disfavour. Herod the Great had thrown them over, although he could not displace them; and this, together with the favour of the people, had left the greatest influence in the hands of the Pharisees. Doubtless the sincere and devout Sadducees, such as the followers of the Zadokite movement, like the sincere and devout Pharisees mentioned in the Gospels, welcomed our Lord's teaching, and later became members of the Christian Church (cf. Acts 6^7). But, speaking generally, the Sadducees as a party exercised little direct influence at the time of our Lord, as is evident from the pages of the New Testament. They were never numerous; they are only mentioned four times in the Gospels, three times in the Acts, and never by St. John, although we find several traces of the position and the views which they held. St. John Baptist greeted both them and the Pharisees

with the cry "offspring of vipers" (the Gospels all through give an interesting proof of how extremes meet; for both came under his and our Lord's condemnation, and, most strangely, they made common cause together in their antagonism to Him, and this joining of forces is again a proof of the opposition which He aroused). (Cf. also Mt. 16^{6}.)

It was the Sadducees who propounded to Him the old and foolish question of the schools, about the woman with seven husbands, which He took out of their hands and raised to an altogether higher plane, taking also the opportunity to rebuke them for their disbelief in a resurrection (Mt. 22^{23}).

It was the Sadducees who, as the priestly class, and commanding a majority in the Sanhedrin, were responsible for the maintenance of the Temple, and the ordering of its arrangements. Consequently, it was their interest and their revenues that our Lord interfered with, when He made the scourge of small cords and drove the money-changers and dove-sellers out of the Temple-courts (Mt. 21^{12}). In general, "chief priests" stands for "Sadducees," and their vested interest is well illustrated by the reason given for destroying Jesus—"Lest the Romans come and take away both our place and our nation" (Jn. 11^{47}). Christ, by His Messianic pretensions, was a dangerous person politically, and popular risings were feared if He went unchecked; hence the Sadducean eye to self-interest, and readiness to evade or disregard their Law if it interfered with their comfort, combined to condemn Him, even to making the amazing confession, "We have no king but Caesar" (Jn. 19^{15}).

Similar evidence is afforded by the Acts. The Sadducees were "sore troubled," because the Apostles "proclaimed in Jesus the resurrection from the dead" (4[2]); and after the first imprisonment and admonition of the Apostles, it was they who initiated the sterner measures against them (5[17]). When St. Paul was arraigned before the Sanhedrin, he skilfully turned their doctrinal controversies to his own account, asserting that the cause of his being before them turned on the question of a resurrection of the dead. St. Luke adds that the Sadducees, besides denying this, denied the existence also of angels and spirits (23[8]; but see above, p. 125).

In their teaching they rejected the "tradition of the elders," *i.e.* the oral interpretation of the Law, which had grown up during the centuries, and adhered stolidly to the written Law alone. Cf. Lk. 20[37], where our Lord faces them with an argument drawn from the Pentateuch; and "Zadokite Frag." 1[8] ff., the attack on the Pharisees, the "treacherous men . . . who talked to Israel lying words, and made them go astray in the wilderness where there was no way, so that they should turn aside from the paths of righteousness, and remove the landmark which the fathers had set in their inheritance. They . . . transgressed the covenant and violated the statute and attacked the soul of the righteous." (Cf. 2[4], 3[7], 4[10], 5[1], 7[1, 13], 8[12], 9[27, 49] ff.) It is strange that they, so liberal in other things, should have been so blindly conservative and reactionary in this. (The real reason was that they came eventually to care more for politics than for religion, and that this

position was forced on them by their opposition to the Pharisees.) In applying the Criminal Law they were more liberal than the Pharisees, exacting the *lex talionis* ("an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth") as laid down, also the law requiring spitting in the face as a sign of repudiation (Deut. 25^9). The Pharisees allowed a money payment in the one case, and to spit on the ground in the offender's presence, in the other. In certain cases they were obliged to allow some oral and traditional teaching, because there were always cases not provided for by the written Law. Thus they were forced to accept the Pharisaic principle. But these enactments were always regarded as temporary, and of less authority than the original Law. The Pharisees upheld both equally, although in their assertion that the oral was based on the written, they, too, in turn accepted the Sadducean principle. So difficult, not to say impossible, is absolute consistency.

One more point of difference between them was the Pharisaic insistence on the most scrupulous cleanliness in all ritual actions, and the most elaborate purificatory ceremonies. At these the Sadducees mocked, saying that the books of Homer were then purer than the Law, seeing that they did not need so much cleansing, or convey defilement to the man who touched them. "These Pharisees," they said, "will end by purifying the sun itself." This, and the numerous other ritualistic requirements, the worldling Sadducee could not away with: it was too childish; besides it made too many demands on a man's time and attention, and conscience must be kept in its place. Their spirit has been

thus described by Thackeray (quoted by Fairweather, E. A., p. 159): "The Baptist might be in the wilderness, shouting to the poor who were listening with all their might and faith to the preacher's awful accents and denunciations of wrath or woe or salvation; and our friend the Sadducee would turn his sleek mule with a shrug and a smile from the crowd, and go home to the shade of his terrace, and muse over preacher and audience, and turn to his roll of Plato, or his pleasant Greek song-book, babbling of honey and Hybla, and nymphs, and fountains of love."

His rival, the **Pharisee,** was of similar ancient origin, and represented the genuinely religious strain in human nature. The name has hitherto been explained as meaning "separated," and certainly the Pharisees upheld the principle of "Come ye out from among them, and be ye separate" (2 Cor. 6^{17}), and fostered the spirit of nationalism and exclusiveness, following the policy of Ezra and Nehemiah, who made strenuous efforts, not with entire success, to free the returned exiles from all ties with their neighbours. But in no other sense were they "separate." They originated from among the people, were the "popular" party, and mixed freely with them (cf. Jos., Ant., 13. 10. 6); the movement had been largely of lay origin (*see* Charles, II., pp. 790, 792); and they actually condemned the practice of holding aloof from the people as practised by the Sadducees (Niddah, 4. 2; P. Aboth, 2. 4). Hence another meaning has recently been suggested, and from the same root, "interpreters". This has much to commend it; for the interpretation

of the Law was their chief occupation, and the battle-field between them and the Sadducees. For this view we may compare Jos., B. J., 2. 8. 14, and their close connection with the Scribes in the New Testament.

Their own name for themselves was "Chaberim," *i.e.* brethren, associates, neighbours; *i.e.* they regarded themselves as a fraternity, a select inner circle within the holy people, not a monastic order like the Essenes, living out of the world, but a body of men living in the world, only by a stricter rule and on more idealistic lines. In this connection they distinguished themselves from the ordinary people, the "people of the land," whom they despised and ignored. Pharisaism was such that ordinary folk could not possibly know the whole duty of man, still less practise it; "no boor fears sin, and none of the common herd can be pious," said Hillel (Aboth, 2. 9); hence this fraternity prided themselves on their superiority, and took endless steps to shield themselves from the defiling contact of the multitude, the multitude which "knew not the Law and was accursed" (Jn. 7^{49}, 9^{34}).

While the actual name Pharisee does not appear until the time of John Hyrcanus (135–105) we read of another section of the people, from whom there is little doubt that the Pharisees ultimately had their origin. These were the Chasidim or Hasideans, the title meaning pious, one who has received the favour of God's intimacy and has responded to it. It is used frequently in the Psalms, of the poor "godly" man, who is contrasted with the rich worldling, and of the "Saints" (cf. 12^{1}, 50^{5}, $149^{1, 5, 9}$). The name was given first in the time

of Antiochus Epiphanes, to that section of the people who resisted most strongly the Hellenising, and to them therefore denationalising, efforts of that king. They upheld devotion to the Law as the one thing desirable and necessary, and strenuously resisted all efforts to interfere with it. Their ideal was God and the Law, rather than national independence; they were not unpatriotic, but they felt that the nation's interest would be best served, and their political status also, by strict adherence to their traditional teaching and faith; God was supreme and would do what was right, if only they did what was right on their part. (Cf. 1 Macc. 7^{14}.)

An instance of their extreme devotion to the Law, to the point of fanaticism, is described in 1 Macc. 2^{32} ff., where many accepted death rather than profane the Sabbath by fighting; and their martyr-spirit is seen in 1^{62}, where they chose death in preference to eating unclean food. (Cf. their words in a later day, when the Emperor Caius proposed to erect his own statue in the Temple: "We will die rather than see our laws transgressed" (Jos., Ant., 18. 8. 3).)

Strictly speaking, the Hasidean and his descendant the Pharisee stood aloof from politics altogether; but on certain occasions he was forced to take an active part in public life. To this was due their existence as a party in the State and the crystallising of their tenets, in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. Later, when the Maccabeans had raised the nation to an independent position, and had fallen away from the purely spiritual ideals which had at first animated them,

the Pharisees' support waned considerably, and John Hyrcanus definitely broke with them. They were disappointed that no "kingdom of Saints" had appeared as the result of all their efforts; and they would naturally view with disfavour the alliances made by Hyrcanus with other States, his employment of mercenary troops, the appearance of his own portrait on the coinage, and the evident setting up of a monarchy instead of the hoped-for theocracy.

According to Josephus (Ant., 13. 10. 5), Hyrcanus consulted them on one occasion as to his line of conduct; all present commended his actions, except one, Eleazar, who said that if he would be entirely virtuous, he must lay aside the High-Priesthood and be content with the civil power only. When questioned, Eleazar gave as his reason the unsubstantiated story that his mother had been a captive, implying that Hyrcanus was not a lawful son of Simon, and therefore disqualified for his office. The Sadducees took advantage of this insult to turn Hyrcanus against the Pharisees, and to accept their support, and from this date the cleavage between Pharisee and Sadducee was complete, and the Pharisees found themselves entangled in political controversies.

Not long after, under Alexander Jannaeus, the second of Hyrcanus' sons to succeed him, civil war broke out and lasted for six years, 94–88, the Pharisees taking the side of the people, and the Sadducees that of the king. The king prevailed, but his widow Alexandra reversed his policy and made alliance with the Pharisees. They had the support of the people, and now exercised

very great influence in the State. At first they took an active part in the political reorganisation, and removing their Sadducee opponents; and then they applied themselves to revising the laws, on their own more lenient lines, rehabilitating the Sanhedrin and developing the worship of the Temple, the indirect effect of which efforts was great, and was seen later in the power that they exercised with later generations. The Rabbis looked back to this as the Golden Age, when the grains of wheat were as large as kidneys, barley like olives, lentils like golden denarii, and rain fell regularly on the eve of the Sabbath, when everybody was indoors.

The Sadducees were not so easily put down; and when Alexandra died in 69 hostilities broke out again, only to be ended by the superior power of Rome, in the person of Pompey. But not ended at once; for the revolt only smouldered and broke out again, and it was not until Jerusalem was besieged and taken that the matter was finally settled. (*See* p. 16 ff.)

The action of the Pharisees on this occasion was instructive. They petitioned Pompey for a restoration of their old form of government, *i.e.* by High Priest and Sanhedrin; "in other words, they welcomed foreign dominion as a security for the maintenance of the theocracy in all its ecclesiastical purity." (Fairweather, B. G., 167.) Their active part in politics was now nearly at an end, and its last expression came at the beginning of Herod's reign, when he took them into his confidence and asked their counsels. This was a clever stroke of his; for he realised their existing power, and felt it necessary to have it on his side. In the

result both sides were strengthened; Herod was surer of the goodwill and behaviour of the people, and the Pharisees were free to develop their ecclesiastical schemes under his patronage, and without let or hindrance from others. The Sadducees had now long lost their political power, and the Pharisees gladly surrendered active political work, content with their spiritual ascendency. The ancient quarrel still persisted, but its sphere was limited to the School and the Sanhedrin and the Temple-courts.

Their teaching has already been hinted at in the description of the Sadducees. Josephus, writing as a Pharisee, describes them as follows (Ant., 18. 1. 3): "They live meanly and despise delicacies in diet, and they follow the conduct of reason, and what that prescribes to them as good for them, they do; and they think they ought earnestly to strive to observe reason's dictates for practice. They also pay a respect to such as are in years, nor are they so bold as to contradict them in anything which they have introduced. And when they determine that all things are done by fate, they do not take away the freedom from men of acting as they think fit; since their notion is that it hath pleased God to make a temperament, whereby what He wills is done, but so that the will of man can act virtuously or viciously. They also believe that souls have an immortal vigour in them, and that under the earth there will be rewards or punishments, according as they have lived virtuously or viciously in this life; and the latter are to be detained in an everlasting prison, but that the former shall have power to revive and live

again. On account of which doctrines they are able greatly to persuade the body of the people, and whatsoever they do about Divine worship, prayers, and sacrifices, they perform them according to their direction; insomuch that the cities give great attestations to them on account of their entire virtuous conduct, both in the actions of their lives, and their discourses also."

"The Pharisees have delivered to the people a great many observances by succession from their fathers, which are not written in the laws of Moses; and for that reason it is that the Sadducees reject them, and say that we are to esteem those observances to be obligatory which are in the written word, but are not to observe what are derived from the tradition of our forefathers, and concerning these things it is that great disputes and differences have arisen among them, while the Sadducees are able to persuade none but the rich, and have not the populace obsequious to them, but the Pharisees have the multitude on their side." (13. 10. 6.)

Another interesting picture of them is given by the Psalms of Solomon (given in Charles, A. and P., a work dating from about 70–40 B.C.). We quote in full Ps. 14, a beautiful expression of Pharisaic faith and hope :—

"Faithful is the Lord to them that love Him in truth,
To them that endure His chastening,
To them that walk in the righteousness of His commandments.
In the law which He commanded us that we might live.

The pious of the Lord shall live by it for ever ;
The Paradise of the Lord, the trees of life, are His pious ones.
Their planting is rooted for ever ;
They shall not be plucked up all the days of Heaven :
For the portion and the inheritance of God is Israel.
But not so are the sinners and transgressors,
Who love the brief day spent in companionship with their sin ;
Their delight is in fleeting corruption,
And they remember not God.
For the ways of men are known before Him at all times,
And He knoweth the secrets of the heart before they come to pass.
Therefore their inheritance is Sheol, and darkness and destruction,
And they shall not be found in the day when the righteous obtain mercy ;
But the pious of the Lord shall inherit life in gladness."

In this Ps. note the similarity to some of the Canonical Psalms (*i.e.* 1, 37, etc.) ; the allusions to the Law as a Way of Life, and the security promised to those who walk faithfully in it ; the "pious" ones, *i.e.* Chasidim, used in a general and not a party sense ; the foreknowledge of God ; the blessed resurrection of the righteous, but not of the wicked.

In 17[5] ff. there is a reference to the Hasmoneans, the earthly monarchy, the coming of Pompey, and the taking of Aristobulus and his children prisoners to Rome. (*See* p. 17.)

" But, for our sins, sinners rose up against us ;
They assailed us and thrust us out ;
What Thou hadst not promised to them, they took away from us with violence.
They in no wise glorified Thy honourable Name ;
They set a worldly monarchy in place of that which was their excellency ;
They laid waste the throne of David in tumultuous arrogance.
But Thou, O God, didst cast them down, and remove their seed from the earth,
In that there rose up against them a man that was alien to our race.
According to their sins didst Thou recompense them, O God ;
So that it befell them according to their deeds.
God showed them no pity ;
He sought out their seed and let not one of them go free.
Faithful is the Lord in all His judgments
Which He doeth upon the earth.
The lawless one laid waste our land so that none inhabited it,
They destroyed young and old and their children together.

In the heat of His anger He sent them away even
unto the West,
And He exposed the rulers of the land unsparingly
to derision.
Being an alien the enemy acted proudly,
And His heart was alien from our God."

In 17[23] we have an expression of their Messianic hopes :—

"Behold, O Lord, and raise up unto them their
king, the son of David,
At the time in the which Thou seest, O God, that
he may reign over Israel Thy servant.
And gird him with strength, that he may shatter
unrighteous rulers,
And that he may purge Jerusalem from nations
that trample her down to destruction.
Wisely, righteously, he shall thrust out sinners from
the inheritance,
He shall destroy the pride of the sinner as a potter's
vessel.
With a rod of iron he shall break in pieces all their
substance,
He shall destroy the godless nations with the
word of his mouth ;
At his rebuke nations shall flee before him,
And he shall reprove sinners for the thoughts of
their heart.
And he shall gather together a holy people, whom he
shall lead in righteousness,

And he shall judge the tribes of the people
that has been sanctified by the Lord his
God.
And he shall not suffer unrighteousness to lodge any
more in their midst,
Nor shall there dwell with them any man that
knoweth wickedness,
For he shall know them that they are all sons of
their God.
And he shall divide them according to their tribes
upon the land,
And neither stranger nor alien shall sojourn with
them any more.
He shall judge peoples and nations in the wisdom of
his righteousness.

And he shall have the heathen nations to serve him
under his yoke ;
And he shall glorify the Lord in a place to be seen
of all the earth ;
And he shall purge Jerusalem, making it holy as
of old :
So that nations shall come from the ends of the earth
to see his glory,
Bringing as gifts her sons who had fainted,
And to see the glory of the Lord, wherewith God
hath glorified her.
And he shall be a righteous king, taught of God, over
them,
And there shall be no unrighteousness in his days
in their midst,

For all shall be holy and their king the anointed of the Lord.
For he shall not put his trust in horse and rider and bow,
Nor shall be multiply for himself gold and silver for war,
Nor shall he gather confidence from a multitude for the day of battle.
The Lord Himself is his king, the hope of him that is mighty through his hope in God."

Notice here that the Messiah is to be of the Davidic line, and that his kingdom is to be entirely in this world, although of a spiritual character, and that the other nations are to be Israel's wondering and admiring tributaries. The ideal is thus very similar to that of the Second Isaiah.

In 18^{11} ff. we see the Pharisaic belief in the uniformity of the universe, and a divine predestination :—

"Great is our God and glorious, dwelling in the highest.
It is He who hath established in their courses the lights of heaven for determining seasons from year to year,
And they have not turned aside from the way which He appointed them.
In the fear of God they pursue their path every day,
From the day God created them and for evermore.

And they have not erred since the day that He created them,
Since the generations of old they have not withdrawn from their path,
Unless God commanded them so to do by the command of his Servants."

Cf. T. Naphtali 2^3: "By weight and measure and rule was all the creation made." (Job 28^{25}; Isa. 40^{12}; Wisd. 11^{20}.)

We may conclude this account of Pharisees and Sadducees with the criticism of the Rev. F. W. Robertson, of Brighton, which, if indeed omitting the good points of each, at least clearly points out the results into which the extravagances of each side led them :—

"The Pharisees were men who rested satisfied with the outward. The form of religion which varies in all ages, that they wanted to stereotype. The inner heart of religion—the unchangeable—justice—mercy—truth—that they could not feel. They had got their two schools of orthodoxy—the school of Shammai and the school of Hillel; and under the orthodoxy of these two popular idols of the day, they were content to lose their own power of independent thought: souls that had shrunk away from all goodness and nobleness, and withered into the mummy of a soul. They could jangle about the breadth of a phylactery. They could discuss, as if it were a matter of life and death, ecclesiastical questions about tithe. They could decide to a furlong the length of journey allowable on the Sabbath day. But they could not look with mercy upon a broken heart pouring itself out to God in His Temple—nor suffer a

hungry man to rub an ear of corn on the Sabbath—nor cover the shame of a tempted sister or an erring brother. Men without souls, from whose narrow hearts the grandeur of everlasting truth was shut out.

"There was another class in Israel as different from the Pharisees as man can be from man. The Sadducee could not be satisfied with the creed of Pharisaism, and had begun to cross-examine its pretensions. They felt that the thing which stood before them there, challenging the exclusive name of religion, with its washing of cups, its fastings, its parchment texts, this had nothing in it of the external and the Infinite. This comes not from the Almighty God, and so from doubt they passed on to denial. The usual order had taken place. The reaction from superstition is infidelity. The reaction from ultra-strictness is laxity. The reaction from Pharisaism was the Sadducee. And the Sadducee, with a dreadful daring, had had the firmness to say: 'Well then, there is no life to come. That is settled. I have looked into the abyss without trembling. There is no phantom there. There is neither angel, spirit, nor life to come. And this glorious thing, man, with his deep thoughts, and his great, unsatisfied heart, his sorrows and his loves, god-like and immortal as he seems, is but dust animated for a time, passing into the nothingness out of which he came.' That cold and hopeless creed was the creed of Sadduceeism. Human souls were trying to live on that, and find it enough." (Sermon on Mt. 3^7.)

CHAPTER VIII

THE SCRIBES AND THEIR TEACHING

ANOTHER familiar and highly influential group of religious teachers were the **Scribes**. Some of these were Sadducees, but the majority Pharisees, their profession being the study and exposition of the Law. Their rise is also traced to the days of Ezra, who is himself described as "a ready scribe" (7^6). At first they were priests, and Malachi (2^7) and Haggai (2^{11}) both imply that the priests were the natural exponents of the Law; but later we find laymen devoting themselves to the work, and holding much the same position as University professors at the present day; these were designated Rabbi, *i.e.* Master. In 1 Chron. 2^{55} we read of "families" or guilds into which they formed themselves. Eventually they became the repository of Scriptural learning, the recognised teachers of the people, and they organised schools and classes of instruction. To them was referred the decision of difficult questions about conduct and breaches of the Law (cf. Mt. 2^4, 17^{10}), so that, besides scholars, they were ecclesiastical lawyers, jurists, and judges. See for this Sir. 38^{33}, where the writer contrasts the craftsman with the Scribe, and

says that the former "shall not be sought for in the council of the people, and in the assembly they shall not mount on high; they shall not sit on the seat of the judge, and they shall not understand the covenant of judgment; neither shall they declare instruction and judgment, and where parables are they shall not be found"; all of which, it is implied, are the prerogative of the Scribe. In the New Testament are mentioned "lawyers" and "teachers of the law," and our Lord says that they "sit on Moses's seat" (Mt. 23^2), *i.e.* in the place of supreme authority.

Their existence as a definite and recognised body is not apparent until the days of the Maccabees, *i.e.* until the second century B.C. In 1 Macc. 7^{12} we find them in connection with the Chasidim, and the attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes to Hellenise the people undoubtedly intensified their adherence to the Law and drew their ranks closer. Political ambitions on the one part encouraged the theocratic ideal and ecclesiasticism on the other. 2 Macc. 6^{18} describes the martyrdom of Eleazar, an aged Scribe of ninety years old, who refused to eat swine's flesh or in any way dissemble his convictions.

From this period onwards their sympathies are almost entirely Pharisaic (*see* Mk. 2^{16}; Acts 23^9, "Scribes of the Pharisees"; Lk. 5^{30}, "Pharisees and their Scribes"); although, as the Sadducees upheld the Written Law, there must have been Sadducee Scribes as well; and doubtless there were Scribes who were independent scholars, and belonged to no party.

As lawyers and judges they possessed indirectly great

power and influence with the people; and from the time of John Hyrcanus (135–105) or Alexandra Salome (78–70) they were admitted to a place in the Sanhedrin, which gave them a certain amount of executive power. But their knowledge of the Law and their position as teachers and consultants was their chief source of influence. It was their business to apply the Law to the details and conditions of every-day life; they "bound and loosed," *i.e.* declared what was forbidden and what permitted; they were the spiritual directors of the people, the keepers of their consciences; and their power of casuistry was in consequence amazing. Of their teaching something will be said presently (*see* p. 150 ff.).

They were also teachers, and taught in the porticoes of the Temple and in schools and academies, where they trained students to walk in their footsteps, and to hand on with the strictest verbal accuracy the teaching which they had themselves received, or professed to have received, from their predecessors. "To him that forgets a precept it is accounted by the Scribe as if he had forfeited his own life"—"Every one is bound to teach in the exact words of his teacher"; these were two maxims of the schools, and this strictness would increase the respect felt for them.

This respect was demanded by and everywhere accorded to them. "Let the honour of thy disciple be dear unto thee as the honour of thy associate; and the honour of thine associate as the fear of thy teacher; and the fear of thy teacher as the fear of Heaven" (P. Aboth 4^{15}). They were to be assisted before parents

and their claims respected first. "Even priests and aristocracy bowed to their authority" (Fairweather, B. G., p. 70 n.); cf. our Lord's strictures in Mt. 23^{5-11}; and Sir. $37^{23, 26}$; 38^{33}, 39^{2}.

It has been said that they were not allowed to take fees for their teaching, but were required to support themselves by a trade. But our Lord speaks of them as "devouring widows' houses" (Mk. 12^{40}); and St. Luke says that the Pharisees, at all events, were "lovers of money" (16^{14}). Jewish casuistry was more than equal to taking fees and explaining them away.

In their teaching they aimed at a strict and rigid uniformity, so that the way of life might be absolutely clear and definite, and the teaching of the Law clear and without ambiguity. In practice, however, the differences of temperament, point of view, and experience, natural to human character, found expression, and occasionally there were serious disputes, in which the grave and learned doctors of the Law would not scruple to come to blows with each other. The School of Hillel, *e.g.*, was broader and more sympathetic than that of Shammai; and although the differences were really very slight, they were acutely felt, and the Jerusalem Talmud describes "a dark day, like that on which the golden calf was made; the Shammaites killed some of the Hillelites." (Cf. Fairweather, B. G., pp. 189, 375.)

This uniformity tended in their hands to make religion merely a mechanical habit, the doing of certain things and the not doing of others. Life to them was supposed to be simplified by being brought under fixed

rules; in practice the rules were so numerous as to be a "burden grievous to be borne," and the spirit of true religion was killed by the slavish insistence on the letter. To the Scribes, "Religion was not a communion of man with God, but a legally correct walk before God." (Hastings, D. B., iv., p. 420*a*.) Holiness meant not so much a doing good as avoiding evil. They maintained the spirit of the Decalogue, in which only two of the commandments are positive, the rest beginning with the words, "Thou shalt not——"

The written Law had 613 separate commands, each of which was binding on the Jew. And because new conditions had arisen, and because life was so varied and so multiform, the Scribes attempted to apply the principles of the written Law to the inconceivably numerous situations in which a Jew would daily find himself and need to know how to act. This body of oral teaching was known as Halacha, or "The Way," and was held as binding as the written Law, being said to have been given on Sinai to Moses, and handed down by him to Joshua, and so to the elders, prophets, and Scribes.

In addition they "made a fence about the Law," by laying down regulations for situations that might arise, so that if a man was careful he might never be the least in danger of breaking the Law. And when a situation arose which was unprovided for, it was referred to them to decide what ought to be done.

Their regulations were concerned mainly with religious and ecclesiastical habits and duties, fasting, almsgiving, sacrifices, Sabbath observance, Temple and priestly

dues, ceremonial purity; moral matters were in the second place; by dedicating his property as "Corban" a man might relieve himself of responsibility towards his parents for maintenance; the Scribes tithed mint and anise and cummin, and left undone the weightier matters of the Law, judgment, and mercy, and faith (Mt. 15^4; 23^{23}).

To the careful keeper of the Law reward was assured: "Whosoever fulfils the Law in poverty will at length fulfil it in wealth. . . . If thou labourest in the Law, He hath much reward to give thee" (P. Aboth, $4^{11, 12}$). But no promise of reward could ever have enabled the most anxious Jew to keep the Law in its entirety (cf. Rom. 8^3; Heb. 7^{19}), and even the Scribes had to revert to quibbles in order to save their face (Mt. 23^{16}). And while professing that the Oral Law interpreted the Written, actually it was the tradition that made void the word of God (Mt. 15^6).

And holiness, besides being dependent on the keeping of the Law, was for that reason also dependent on knowledge; so that no one without prolonged study could ever hope to fulfil it. And so Hillel said that "an ignorant man cannot be pious," and learning and piety came to be convertible terms. This meant that, for the ordinary person, the keeping of the Law and its consequent reward were out of the question, although it certainly was productive of much good in the care bestowed upon the education of the Jewish youth.

Besides, as is evident, the insistence on the Law and obedience to the Scribes opened the way to much abuse, and, as already stated, under their influence religion

tended to become mechanical, and morality to be disregarded. If righteousness consists in the fulfilling of certain external, formal obligations, a perfection based on this ideal must tend to self-complacency and indifference to the "weightier" matters of conduct, and a rule of life will degenerate into petty casuistry. And so far from satisfying, it could only add a burden to the conscience; and so St. Paul complained that the Law only taught him what sin was, and gave him no delivery from it (Rom. 7^{7}). It might be the slave-boy to lead the pupil to school (Gal. 3^{24}), but it could go no farther. "The Law made nothing perfect" (Heb. 7^{19}); it was barren and lifeless.

This devotion to the **Law**, encouraged by the Scribes, was the natural outcome of Jewish tradition. The Jewish religion was confessedly a covenant religion, dating from the giving of the Decalogue to Moses on Mount Sinai. This gift was the sign that Jehovah had chosen Israel, and the keeping of the Law was the condition of Jehovah's goodwill and protection. (Cf. Exod. $19^{5, 6}$: "Now therefore, if ye will obey my voice indeed, and keep My covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me from among all peoples; for all the earth is mine: and ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation." Also cf. 24^{3} ff.) The book of Deuteronomy may be described as an exhortation to the keeping of the Law (*see* especially Deut. 4; and cf. 2 Kings $23^{2, 3}$), where the Book of the Law found by Hilkiah has been identified with Deuteronomy: "And the king . . . read in their ears all the words of the book of the covenant which was found

in the house of the Lord. And the king stood by the pillar, and made a covenant before the Lord, to walk after the Lord, and to keep His Commandments and His testimonies and His statutes, with all his heart, and all his soul, to confirm the words of this covenant that were written in this book: and all the people stood to the covenant." In Jer. 31^{31} God speaks of the "New Covenant" which He will make, writing it in His people's hearts instead of on the Tables of stone. In Neh. 8, 9, we learn how Ezra read the Law to the returned exiles, and how they pledged themselves again to keep it.

In fact we have ample expressions of their devotion to the Law all the way down their history. It must suffice to refer to Ps. 1, an admirable summary of the Jewish ideal and hope; Ps. 119, an "acrostic" psalm, entirely devoted to the praise of the Law, and the keeping of it; Sir. 24^{23}, "All these things are the book of the covenant of the Most High God, even the Law which Moses commanded us for a heritage unto the assemblies of Jacob"; 4 Ezra 9^{31}, "Behold, I sow my Law in you, and it shall bring forth fruit in you, and ye shall be glorified in it for ever"; 14^{22}, "The things that were written in Thy Law in you, and it shall bring forth fruit in you, and ye shall be glorified in it for ever"; 14^{22}, "The things that were written in Thy Law, that men may be able to find the path, and that they which would live in the latter days may live"; Baruch 4^{1}, "This is the book of the commandments of God, and the Law that endureth for ever: all they that hold it fast are appointed to life: but such as leave it shall die." The Book of

Jubilees is a commentary (on Genesis), upholding the ritual enactments of the Law, and expressed in forcible language. "Judith" illustrates the power of one who kept the Law, in the face of great dangers and difficulties. Cf. also a saying of Hillel (P. Aboth. 2^8), "Much law, much life"; and Josephus (C. Apion. 2. 39), "Though we be deprived of our own wealth, of our cities, or of the other advantages we have, our Law continues immortal."

In character the keeping of the Law meant the obeying of certain prescribed regulations, so that from the beginning there was the germ of the legalism which killed the spirit of true religion, bound heavy burdens grievous, and in fact impossible to be borne, substituted ritualism for morality, devotions for devotion. The prophets saw this clearly; and we have some outspoken denunciations of the keeping of the letter at the expense of the spirit. Micah grandly says (6^6): "Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the High God? Shall I come before Him with burnt-offerings, with calves of a year old? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? Shall I give my firstborn for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul? He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" The condemnation was even as old as Samuel: "To obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams" (1 Sam. 15^{22}, cf. Hos. 6^6, "I desire mercy, and not sacrifice; and the knowledge of God more than burnt-offerings"). Similar sentiments are found in Ps. 50,

Isa. 1^{10} ff., and Mal. 1. Jeremiah is careful to show the need of a spiritual religion (31^{33}), and Ezekiel the need of a new heart (36^{26}).

But Ezekiel is also the spokesman of the opposite and ultimately prevailing tendency, which tried to reduce everything to set terms. His careful and precise regulations for the worship of the Sanctuary are parallel only to the elaborate and amazing regulations for daily life, for which the Scribes were afterwards notorious and the Herodian age largely responsible.

The chief duties of the devout man were prayer, fasting, and almsgiving; and thus Simon the Just (High Priest about 300 B.C.) is credited with saying: "The world is stayed on three things—the Law, Worship, and the doing of kindnesses," no mean expression of the truth, denoting God's revelation to man, man's response to God, and man's love to his fellow-men.

The rule for prayer was three times a day, and grace at meals; cf. Ps. 55^{17}, "Evening, morning, and at noonday, will I complain and moan; and He shall hear my voice"; and it was Daniel's adherence to this practice that gave his enemies the decision that they wanted against him (*see* Dan. 6). The "Book of the Secrets of Enoch" (contemporary with our Lord) says: "It is good to go morning, midday, and evening into the Lord's dwelling, for the glory of your Creator" (51^{4}; cf. Acts 2^{15}, 3^{1}, 10^{9}). Prayer was thus one of the means by which ostentatious Pharisees advertised their piety (Mt. 6^{5}); and it was customary for teachers to teach their pupils forms and methods of prayer (Lk. 11^{1}).

Fasting was as essential. There were regular set fasts, such as the Day of Atonement, the anniversaries of the entry of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, of the destruction of the Temple, of the beginning of the siege by Nebuchadnezzar. And, besides these, occasions of private grief and the desire for repentance were marked by fasting (*see* 2 Sam. 12^{16}, $^{21-23}$, 1 Kings 21^{27}, Neh. 1^{4}, Dan. 9^{3}; and cf. Tobit 12^{8}, 1 Macc. 3^{47}, 2 Macc. 13^{12}, Isa. 58^{3} ff., Jer. 14^{10}, Zech. 7, 8). It was considered a meritorious act, and one productive both of material and spiritual blessing, and a means of obtaining answers to prayer. The Patriarchs in the "Testaments" frequently exhort their children to follow their example in this, and hold it up as a reason for their prosperity. (*See* T. Reuben 1^{10}, T. Simeon 3^{4}, T. Judah 15^{4}, 19^{2}, T. Issachar 7^{3}, T. Joseph 3^{4}, 10^{1}.)

In the New Testament we read of Anna serving God in prayers and fastings night and day (Lk. 2^{37}). The Pharisee in the parable held his fasts up as meritorious in God's eyes (Lk. 18^{12}). It was the custom for fasting to be included in the rule of life imposed by a teacher on his disciples (Mk. 2^{18}); and our Lord recognised this and upheld it, but insisted that the fast should be genuine and private (Mt. 6^{16}). The Early Church fasted on solemn and important occasions (Acts 13^{2}, 14^{23}), and St. Paul alludes to his own practice (2 Cor. 6^{5}, 11^{27}).

The third rule was that of almsgiving and good works, and it is noticeable that in this case also an equivalent reward was promised. (Was not the Jew ever shrewd at making a bargain, true to his forefather Jacob? *see* Gen. 28^{20}.) Thus Tobit enjoins his son: "Give alms

of Thy substance : and when thou givest alms let not thine eye be envious : turn not away thy face from any poor man, and the face of God shall not be turned away from thee. As thy substance is, give alms of it according to thine abundance : if thou have little, be not afraid to give alms according to that little : for thou layest up a good treasure for thyself against the day of necessity : because alms delivereth from death, and suffereth not to come into darkness." (4^7, cf. 1^3, 14^{10}, Wisd 3^{15}, Sir. 3^{30}, "almsgiving will make atonement for sins" ; 7^{10} ; the Zadokites prescribed two days' wages in the month as the rule ; Zadok. Frag. 18^1. This, again, throws light on the motive of our Lord's teaching about alms in Mt. 6^2, that they shall be secret, like fastings ; and on the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican (Lk. 18^{12}).)

The doing of kindnesses must usually involve the spending of money ; and Sirach, in a beautiful chapter (29), upholds the practice, even if he backs it with the usual promise of "interest." "Help a poor man for the commandment's sake ; and according to his need send him not empty away. Lose thy money for a brother and a friend ; and let it not rust under the stone to be lost. Bestow thy treasure according to the commands of the Most High, and it shall profit thee more than gold. Shut up alms in thy storechambers, and it shall deliver thee out of all affliction : it shall fight for thee against thine enemy better than a mighty shield and a ponderous spear." But giving and help were not to be indiscriminate ; "Give to the godly man, and help not the sinner" (12^4).

With this last injunction we may compare Mt. 5^{43} ff. :

"Ye have heard that it was said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy; but I say unto you, Love your enemies," etc. And everywhere in the New Testament the doctrine of salvation by works is condemned. The rich young man asked what he should do that he might have eternal life (Mt. 19^{16}). After the feeding of the five thousand, the people asked what they must do that they might work the works of God; to which our Lord answered, "believe" (Jn. 6^{28}). In exactly the same way the gaoler at Philippi cried out, "What must I do to be saved?" (Acts 16^{30}.) St. James quite rightly insisted that faith without works is dead (2^{14} ff.), doubtless owing largely to his Jewish upbringing; but St. Paul, "a Pharisee of the Pharisees," was granted the vision to see that salvation must be by faith and not by works, which were dead and barren. (Cf. Rom. 3^{20}, 11^{6}; Gal. 3^{2}; Eph. 2^{9}; 2 Tim. 1^{9}; Tit. 3^{5}; Heb. 6^{1}, 9^{14}.)

The popular Book of Devotion was the Psalter, justly endeared also to members of the Christian Church; and in the Psalter we naturally find much direct teaching for the benefit and direction of those who would be "godly." Passages are so numerous as to be beyond full quotation or even reference; but we give one or two in illustration of the points mentioned. A *holy fear* was the basis of all good living (2^{11}, "Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice unto Him with trembling," cf. 119^{120}, Isa. 11^{2}); and this fear removed all other fear (91^{5}, "Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night, nor for the arrow that flieth by day"). Consequently, the

godly man had and must have an unfailing *trust* in God, in His goodness and His power, and the ultimate prevalence of good over evil (20[7], "Some trust in chariots and some in horses, but we will make mention of the Lord our God"; 146[3], "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the son of man, in whom there is no help; . . . Happy is he that hath the God of Jacob for his help, whose hope is in the Lord his God"). A sense of the awful majesty of God was fitting, and a man must be *humble*. (39[9], "I was dumb, I opened not my mouth, because Thou didst it"; 73[22], "So brutish was I, and ignorant, I was as a beast before Thee.") He designates himself as "poor and needy" (12[5], 37[14]); and realises the wrong and the folly of self-dependence (30[6]); and keeps his soul like "a weaned child" (131[2]).

Inwardly he meditates in God's *Law* day and night (1[2]), and keeps it in his heart (37[31], 40[8]). It is his chief delight, his greatest treasure, the ground of his hope, the light of his daily path (119). Outwardly, he *praises* God and declares his faith (119[164], 20[7], 35[18], 92[1]), and tells others of it (40[10]). He *prays* at home in private, making his bed to swim, and watering his couch at night with tears for his sin (6[6]); and observing the three set hours of prayer (55[17]). He bears his *witness* among his fellowmen to the joy and truth and help of what he has experienced (119[13], [46]). (For the use of the Psalter, cf. Fairweather, B. G., p. 72 ff.)

It will be noticed that the virtues and practices recommended are the gentler, passive, and negative ones: *i.e.* the godly shield themselves under the habit

of regular observance, and ensure a blessing by their behaviour. The type of religion is artificial and cloister-bred; it can only flourish where conditions are favourable; it cannot conquer the world; if the world and the ungodly are powerful and oppressive, it retreats timidly into its shell, "until the tyranny be over-past"; it is calculating and cautious, selfish even; there is nothing of the heroic, of the risking all for a noble cause for the sake of others, no willingness to perish that another may be saved. Consequently, Pharisaism tended to be narrow, and lacking in freedom and independence and courage. (Cf. Fairweather, B. G., p. 18.)

Of this school of teaching Sirach is a good exponent. He upholds the ideal of filial piety and general quiet domesticity, *i.e.* a "pure religion breathing household laws." "He that honoureth his father shall make atonement for sins; and he that giveth glory to his mother is as one that layeth up treasure. Whoso honoureth his father shall have joy of his children; and in the day of his prayer he shall be heard" ($3^{3\ 5}$). "Happy is the husband of a good wife, and the number of his days shall be twofold. A brave woman rejoiceth her husband, and he shall fulfil his years in peace. A good wife is a good portion: she shall be given in the portion of such as fear the Lord. . . . Keep strict watch on a headstrong daughter, lest she find liberty for herself, and use it" ($26^{1-3,\ 10}$).

A man should be industrious and orderly, respect the proprieties, and be generally dutiful. "Hate not laborious work, neither husbandry, which the Most High hath ordained" (7^{15}). "My son, let thy tears fall over

the dead, and as one that suffereth grievously make lamentation; and wind up his body according to his due, and neglect not his burial. Make bitter weeping, and make passionate wailing, and let thy mourning be according to his desert, for one day or two, lest thou be evil spoken of: and so be comforted for thy sorrow (38^{16}ff.).

Due and proper respect should be shown for the priesthood. "Fear the Lord with all thy soul, and reverence his priests. With all thy strength love Him that made thee, and forsake not His ministers. Fear the Lord, and glorify the priest, and give him his portion even as it is commanded thee, the firstfruits, and the trespass offering, and the gift of the shoulders, and the sacrifice of sanctification, and the firstfruits of holy things." (7^{29}; cf. 14^{11}, 35^{1}, 38^{11}.)

Besides the interpretation of the Law and its application to daily life, the Scribes also busied themselves with the interpretation of the historical portions of the Old Testament. This has received the title of Haggada, or "narrative." Into it entered much legend and embellishment, and it frequently consisted in the rewriting of history in the light and to serve the views of a later age. *E.g.*, the two Books of Chronicles are found, on examination, to differ considerably from those of Kings, and it is generally held now that they represent the views of Scribes, writing somewhere in the early part of the third century, B.C., 300–250. They, with "Ezra," and "Nehemiah," form one complete work, and are not history so much as didactic works in which the history is made to serve the purposes of religion.

There are several traces of this Haggada in the New Testament, *e.g.* :—

In 2 Tim. 3^8 St. Paul refers to "Jannes and Jambres who withstood Moses." They are the Egyptian magicians mentioned, but not named, in Exod. 7^{11}. One name occurs in Zadok. Frag., 7^{19}, and both are mentioned in the Talmud (Menach. 85*a*) ; and there was probably a small book bearing the names as a title, as mentioned by Origen on Mt. 27^9.

In 1 Cor. 10^4 he speaks of the rock that followed the Israelites in the wilderness. This, again, is no part of the canonical narrative, but is found in the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan.

In Acts 7^{53}, Gal. 3^{19}, Heb. 2^2, it is said that the Law was given through angels. This is described in the Book of Jubilees, 1^{27} : "And He said to the angel of the presence : Write for Moses from the beginning of the creation till My sanctuary has been built among them for all eternity. . . . And the angel of the presence who went before the camp of Israel took the tables of the divisions of the years—from the time of the creation—of the law and of the testimony of the weeks of the jubilees, etc., etc."

In Lk. 4^{25}, Jas. 5^{17}, the length of the famine in the time of Elijah (1 Kings 17^1) is given as "three years and six months." In the Old Testament the only note of time is "many days" and "the third year" (18^1). The fuller details are given in "Jalkut Simeoni" on 1 Kings 16.

In Jude 9 reference is made to a dispute between the archangel Michael and the devil, over the body of Moses.

This legend St. Jude obtained from "The Assumption of Moses." (*See* Charles, A. and P., II., p. 408 n.)

In Heb. 7 Melchizedek is described as being without "beginning of days nor end of life," and having no parents or genealogy. Of this there is not a word in Gen. 14.

In Gal. 4^{22} we have an example of Jewish allegorising of the Old Testament narrative; also in Rom. 10^{6}, and Heb. 7 already mentioned.

The books of Enoch, Judith, and Tobit are all examples of the writing up of history with a moral and didactic purpose. The two latter are short, and of course available in our "Apocrypha."

The Book of Jubilees is a Midrash or commentary on Genesis, dating 153–105, from a Pharisaic hand, and some of the interpretations and applications are truly marvellous. Thus, to name only one or two, in 3^{8} ff. the rules for purification after childbirth are based upon the dates of various events in Paradise. It is stated that up to the Fall all the animals could converse and had a common language (3^{28}). The covenant with Noah is taken as the basis of that made with Moses, about the non-eating of blood (6^{10}). It is said that the Feast of Weeks was kept in heaven from the creation until the death of Noah (6^{18}). And the division of the earth among the sons of Noah is not unnaturally given as the justification for the invasion of Palestine (8^{12} ff.). In 9^{16} the author discreetly passes over the incident with Abimelech in Gen. 20; and the institution of the Feast of Tabernacles is ascribed to the birth of Isaac. In 21 Abraham gives Isaac his dying injunctions about a

number of ritual observations, which are, however, paralleled in the Testaments, and traced to a further common source.

In 26^{18} a "dispensation from heaven" is brought in to remove the guilt of Jacob's deceit; and in 48^{3} Moses' omission to circumcise his son is passed over by a different version of the incident. (*See* Exod. 4^{24}.)

With this overloading of the original text and narrative of the Old Testament with legend may be compared the growth of Christian legend in mediæval times, alluded to and condemned by the Prayer-Book. (*See* "Concerning the Service of the Church.")

Let us now glance at another of these books, typical of the best Scribal teaching, the "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," * a book written c. 109–106, at the end of John Hyrcanus' reign, and purporting to be the charges given by the sons of Jacob on their deathbeds to their descendants. Its influence on the New Testament will be at once apparent.

Here is a passage which breathes a very different spirit to the usual Jewish vindictiveness (seen at its worst in Ps. 109), and showing how Christian ethics were already on the way.

T. Simeon 4^{4} ff., "Now Joseph was a good man, and had the spirit of God within him: being compassionate and pitiful he bore no malice against me, but loved me even as the rest of his brethren. Beware, therefore, my children, of all jealousy and envy, and walk in singleness of heart. . . . Do ye also, my children,

* Cf. Plummer, "St. Matthew," p. xxxiv.

love each one his brother with a good heart, and the spirit of envy will withdraw from you."

In 6^5 we have indications of one form of the Messianic hope, *i.e.* a visible theocracy on earth and an intervention of God Himself, and of the widely-developed belief in a spirit-world. "For the Lord shall appear on earth, and Himself save men. Then shall all the spirits of deceit be given to be trodden underfoot, and men shall rule over wicked spirits." (Cf. Lk. 10^{19}.)

Levi, as might be expected, voices the ritualistic demand: "Before entering into the holy place, bathe; and when thou offerest the sacrifice, wash; and again, when thou finishest the sacrifice, wash. Of twelve trees having leaves offer to the Lord, as Abraham taught me also. And of every clean beast and bird offer a sacrifice to the Lord. And of all thy first-fruits and of wine offer the first, as a sacrifice to the Lord God; and every sacrifice thou shalt salt with salt" (9^{11} ff.; cf. Mk. 9^{49}).

Chapter 13 is a poem expressing the ideal rule of life. It is too long to quote here in full; but the following verses should be noticed: "Work righteousness, therefore, my children, upon the earth, that ye may have it as a treasure in heaven" (v. 5; cf. Mt. 6^{20}); "Whosoever teaches noble things and does them" (v. 9; cf. Mt. 5^{19}; $7^{24, 26}$).

Chapter 18 describes the coming of the Messiah. Here are one or two striking extracts:

"The heavens shall be opened,
And from the temple of glory shall come upon him
sanctification,

With the Father's voice as from Abraham to Isaac.
And the glory of the Most High shall be uttered over him,
And the spirit of understanding and sanctification shall rest upon him" (vv. 6, 7; cf. Mt. 3[16]; 2 Pet. 1[17]).
"In his priesthood the Gentiles shall be multiplied in knowledge upon the earth,
And enlightened through the grace of the Lord. . .
And he shall open the gates of Paradise,
And shall remove the threatening sword against Adam.
And he shall give to the saints to eat from the tree of life,
And the spirit of holiness shall be on them.
And Beliar shall be bound by him,
And he shall give power to his children to tread upon the evil spirits" (vv. 9–12; cf. Rev. 2[7], 20[2], 22[2]; Mt. 12[29]; Lk. 10[19]).

In T. Judah (24, 25) is another remarkable forecast of Christ's coming, and especially the assertion of His "meekness," a strange and unexpected ideal at this period:—

"And after these things shall a star arise to you from Jacob in peace,
And a man shall arise like the sun of righteousness,
Walking with the sons of men in meekness and righteousness (cf. Mt. 5[6]).
And no sin shall be found in him.

And the heavens shall be opened unto him,
To pour out the spirit, even the blessing of the Holy Father;
And He shall pour out the spirit of grace upon you;
And ye shall be unto Him sons in truth,
And ye shall walk in His commandments first and last."

"And there shall be there no spirit of deceit of Beliar,
For he shall be cast into the fire for ever" (cf. Rev. 20^{10}).

With T. Issachar 3^2, "singleness" of heart, cf. Eph. 6^5, Col. 3^{22}; with 3^4, "busybody," cf. 1 Tim. 5^{13}; with 3^4, "singleness of eye," cf. Mt. 6^{22}; with 3^8, "singleness of heart"=generosity, cf. Rom. 12^8, 2 Cor. 9^{13}.

A curious passage is T. Zebulun 5–8, showing the characteristic doctrine that all good done to another comes back "with interest"; and notable for the way in which it combats the equally prevalent spirit of vindictiveness (cf. p. 158; and Lk. 6^{30-35}).

"I was the first to make a boat to sail upon the sea, for the Lord gave me understanding and wisdom therein. And I let down a rudder behind it, and I stretched a sail upon another upright piece of wood in the midst. And I sailed therein along the shores, catching fish for the house of my father until we came to Egypt. And through compassion I shared my catch with every

stranger. And if a man were a stranger, or sick, or aged, I boiled the fish, and dressed them well, and offered them to all men, as every man had need, grieving with and having compassion upon them. Wherefore also the Lord satisfied me with abundance of fish when catching fish; for he that shareth with his neighbour receiveth manifold more from the Lord. For five years I caught fish, and gave thereof to every man whom I saw, and sufficed for all the house of my father. And in the summer I caught fish, and in the winter I kept sheep with my brethren.

"Now I will declare unto you what I did. I saw a man in distress through nakedness in winter-time, and had compassion upon him, and stole away a garment secretly from my father's house, and gave it to him who was in distress. Do you, therefore, my children, from that which God bestoweth upon you, show compassion and mercy without hesitation to all men, and give to every man with a good heart. And if ye have not the wherewithal to give to him that needeth, have compassion for him in bowels of mercy. I know that my hand found not the wherewithal to give to him that needed, and I walked with him weeping for seven furlongs, and my bowels yearned towards him in compassion." (Cf. for some of the expressions and sentiments Mt. 5^{42}; Phil. 1^{8}; Col. 3^{12}; 1 Jn. 3^{17}; Jude 22.)

In T. Dan. 5 we have "the earliest authority for conjoining love to God and love to one's neighbour" (Charles), as well as passages which are clearly reflected in the New Testament:

"Speak truth each one with his neighbour,
So shall ye not fall into wrath and confusion;
But ye shall be in peace, having the God of peace,
So shall no war prevail over you.
Love the Lord through all your life,
And one another with a true heart."

(Cf. Eph. 4^{25}; 1 Thess. 5^{23}; Rom. 15^{33}; Phil. 4^{9}; Mt. 22^{37}.)

. . . . . .

"And there shall arise unto you from the tribe of Levi the salvation of the Lord;
And he shall make war against Beliar,
And execute an everlasting vengeance on our enemies;
And the captivity shall he take from Beliar,
And turn disobedient hearts unto the Lord,
And give to them that call upon him eternal peace.
And the saints shall rest in Eden,
And in the new Jerusalem shall the righteous rejoice,
And it shall be unto the glory of God for ever."

(Cf. Lk. 1^{17}; Rev. 3^{12}, 21^{2}.)

One of the most striking of passages is contained in T. Joseph (1^{5} ff.):

"I was sold into slavery, and the Lord of all made me free;
I was taken into captivity, and His strong hand succoured me.
I was beset with hunger, and the Lord Himself nourished me.

I was alone, and God comforted me :
I was sick, and the Lord visited me :
I was in prison, and my God showed favour unto me ;
In bonds, and He released me ;
Slandered, and He pleaded my cause ;
Bitterly spoken against by the Egyptians, and He delivered me ;
Envied by my fellow-slaves, and He exalted me."

The relation to Mt. 25^{35} is obvious.

Scarcely less remarkable is $18^{1, 2}$, although similar sentiments are to be found in 2 Kings 6^{22} ; 2 Chron. 28^{15} ; Prov. 25^{21} :

"If ye also, therefore, walk in the commandments of the Lord, my children, He will exalt you there, and will bless you with good things for ever and ever. And if anyone seeketh to do evil unto you, do well unto him, and pray for him, and ye shall be redeemed of the Lord from all evil."

(Here cf. Lk. 6^{27} ; Rom. 12^{20}.)

In T. Benjamin (3^{8}) is a prophecy of the Messiah :

"A blameless one shall be delivered up for lawless men, and a sinless one shall die for ungodly men."

(Cf. Jn. 11^{50}.)

Of T. Benj. 4 we have echoes in the New Testament:

"See ye, therefore, my children, the end of the good man ? Be followers of his compassion, therefore, with a good mind, that ye also may wear crowns of glory.

For the good man hath not a dark eye; for he showeth mercy to all men, even though they be sinners. And though they devise with vile intent concerning him, by doing good he overcometh evil, being shielded by God; and he loveth the righteous as his own soul. If any one is glorified, he envieth him not; if any one is enriched, he is not jealous; if any one is valiant, he praiseth him; the virtuous man he laudeth; on the poor man he hath mercy; on the weak he hath compassion; unto God he singeth praises. And him that hath the grace of a good spirit he loveth as his own soul."

(For this passage cf. 2 Tim. 4^{8}; Jas. 1^{12}; Rev. 2^{10}; Mt. 6^{23}; Rom. 12^{21}; Jas. 5^{13}.)

In $10^{5, 6}$ is voiced the extension of the kingdom to the Gentiles, and the words "on the right hand" remind us of Mt. 25^{33}:

"Until the Lord shall reveal his salvation to all Gentiles. And then shall ye see Enoch, Noah, and Shem, and Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, rising on the right hand in gladness."

Remarkable is T. Gad. 5: "Hatred, therefore, is evil, for it constantly mateth with lying, speaking against the truth; and it maketh small things to be great, and causeth the light to be darkness, and calleth the sweet bitter, and teacheth slander, and kindleth wrath, and stirreth up war and violence, and all covetousness; it filleth the heart with evils and devilish poison. . . . drive forth hatred, which is of the devil, and cleave to the love of God. Righteousness casteth

out hatred, humility destroyeth envy . . . the fear of God overcometh hatred. For fearing lest he should offend the Lord, he will not do wrong to any man, even in thought. . . . For true repentance after a godly sort destroyeth ignorance and driveth away the darkness, and enlighteneth the eyes, and giveth knowledge to the soul, and leadeth the mind to salvation."

(Here cf. Jas. 3^{14} ff., 4^{7}; Mt. $5^{21\ 27}$; 2 Cor. 7^{10}.)

But by far the most striking and remarkable passage is T. Gad. 6^{3}, unique in its "Christian" sentiment:

"Love ye one another from the heart; and if a man sin against thee, speak peaceably to him, and in thy soul hold not guile; and if he repent and confess, forgive him."

Dr. Charles calls this passage unique in all ancient literature, and for Judaism it constitutes a new departure in ethics, for although the conduct of Joseph in Genesis 42 ff. illustrates it admirably, Jewish writers did not enlarge upon it as an ideal to be followed; and the noble passages Lev. 19^{18}, Prov. 25^{21}, Sir. 28^{2}, are more than counterbalanced by others, such as Prov. 24^{17}, Ps. 41^{10}. The parallel with Mt. 18^{15}, Lk. 17^{3}, is so clear that we must infer our Lord's familiarity with it. (Cf. also Mt. 6^{14}; Rom. 12^{19}.)

Allusion has already been made to some of the frequent mentions of Scribes and Pharisees in the New Testament, and there are others which should be noted. Their ostentatious alms are condemned in the Sermon on the Mount (Mt. 6^{1}), and the hollowness of their so-called "righteousness": (5^{20}, Lk. 12^{1}, 18^{9}). Their

exclusiveness showed itself in the complaint that Christ mixed with publicans and sinners (Mt. 9^{11}, Lk. 7^{36}). Their belief in a numerous and highly-organised world of spirits appears in the remark about casting out devils through Beelzebub (Mt. 12^{24}; Mt. 23^{30}; Acts 23^{9}). Their professed devotion to the Scriptures is criticised by Him, "Have ye never read?" (Mt. 21^{16}; cf. Jn. 5^{39}, "Ye search the Scriptures, because ye think that in them ye have eternal life.") And their professional jealousy appears in "How knoweth this man letters, having never learned?" (Jn. 7^{15}; cf. Mt. 21^{23}; Lk. 5^{17} ff.)

Of their methods of interpretation, ecclesiasticism, and casuistry, we have examples in Christ's teaching "as one having authority, and not as the Scribes," who said "Rabbi . . . said," *i.e.* referring to tradition and not themselves; the complaint about picking the ears of corn on the Sabbath; in the questions about the tribute, the woman with seven husbands, and the Messiah (Mt. 7^{29}, 12^{2}, $22^{15, 23, 41}$); in the dispute with the disciples of St. John Baptist about purifying; and the rejection of His witness of Himself (Jn. 3^{25}, 8^{13}; cf. Mt. $5^{21, 27}$, 9^{3}, 13^{1}, 16^{2}).

Their foibles and shortcomings were not unnoticed by themselves; here is a list of the various kinds of Pharisees, compiled by their own Rabbis:

i. The Shoulder-Pharisee, who wore openly on his shoulder a list of his good deeds.
ii. The Temporising Pharisee, who begged for time that he might do a good deed.

iii. The Calculating Pharisee, who said: "My sins are more than counterbalanced by my many virtues."

iv. The Saving Pharisee, who said: "I will save a little from my modest fortune to perform a work of charity."

v. The Pharisee who said: "Would that I knew of a sin which I had committed, in order that I might make reparation by an act of virtue."

vi. The God-fearing Pharisee, like Job.

vii. The God-loving Pharisee, like Abraham.

(*See* Encycl. Bibl., p. 4325.)

In Mt. 23, Lk. 11[39], a most scathing indictment of them is put into the mouth of our Lord, and it has not unnaturally coloured most subsequent judgments passed upon them. It may not, indeed, be contradicted, but it may, and should be qualified; and when all is said and done we must allow a high place to the teaching and work of the Scribes and Pharisees. Perhaps the judgment of posterity may be in a better position to form a fairer estimate of them and their work, than the necessarily biassed minds of their contemporaries.

One of the best proofs of its value, that it was not wholly evil or barren of fruit, is to be seen in its literature, and the use that our Lord Himself made of its moral teachings. (Examples have been largely given in the present chapter.) There are blots on the Psalms, but none can deny the influence, the inspiration, the comfort that they have had and still exercise; none would rule them out of the Christian Church (except,

possibly, Ps. 109). There is much in Sirach and in Proverbs that is of value as practical advice. The other Jewish writings have been shown to contain much that is both beautiful and ennobling. The Dean of Lichfield, Dr. Savage, in a most interesting book, "The Gospel of the Kingdom," has shown how thoroughly Rabbinic in its essence is the Sermon on the Mount, how rooted in the teaching of the Scribes. He shows, certainly, how our Lord improved upon and heightened it; but this in no way detracts from its value; it rather shows how eternal is its value, in spite of its excrescences, and the extravagances and the defects of its exponents.

The fact remains that the religion of our Lord's day was entirely due to the labours of the Scribes and Pharisees. They had preserved it through the ages, and to it He and His disciples were themselves indebted for their knowledge and religious upbringing. He also upheld their authority: "Think not that I am come to destroy the Law or the Prophets; I came not to destroy, but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass away, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass away from the Law, till all things be accomplished." "It is easier for heaven and earth to pass away, than for one tittle of the Law to fall" (Mt. 5^{17}, Lk. 16^{17}). He lived in the light of their teaching; it was with texts from Deuteronomy that He repelled each of His three Temptations. It was able to produce and preserve such characters as Zacharias and Elisabeth, Joseph and Mary, Simeon and Anna, Joseph of Arimathea, Nicodemus, Gamaliel. To one

Scribe our Lord said: "Thou art not far from the Kingdom of God" (Mk. 12^{34}). He upheld their office, even if He condemned their works (Mt. 13^{52}, $23^{2, 3}$). "Many of the rulers believed on Him" (Jn. 12^{47}), even if they did not confess Him at first. In Pharisaism were nurtured the thousands who yielded to the preaching of the Apostles, and became the first Christians, the nucleus of the Catholic Church; of the priests "a great company" joined with the people, and "became obedient to the Faith" (Acts 6^{7}). St. Paul was "a Pharisee and a son of Pharisees" (Acts 23^{6}); and if his upbringing could not satisfy his aspirations, it did not stifle them. Their rule of life, in its general principles, was safe, if cautious; it was entirely honourable and ennobling, even if it insisted much on the promise of reward; it was its extravagances that our Lord condemned, rather than its inner self.

Moreover, it encouraged and strengthened the gentler and weaker spirits; it acted as a check to wilder nationalistic hopes; it preserved the truth and value of personal piety, and the inwardness of religion. Its regulation of daily life encouraged the sense of God's authority, and made for both orderliness of conduct and the recognition of God in daily affairs. Its discipline encouraged a high standard of life. It provided an atmosphere which surrounded children from their earliest years, and could not fail to react on their characters. (Cf. Philo, quoted p. 39.) It certainly fostered and kept alive within the Jew an indomitable faith, an unquenchable hope, and a very real love towards his own race, if not to all. And when the nation practically

ceased to have an independent existence after the capture of Jerusalem, it was Pharisaism and the Pharisees who preserved what was left, and formed the rallying point and the inspiration for the thousands of Jews, now a nation without a home, and welded them into a vast international brotherhood or ecclesia. It was Pharisaism out of which was born *the* Ecclesia, the Holy Catholic Church of Christ.

INDEX

A

Antiochus Epiphanes, 51, 66, 83, 118, 123, 148
Apocalyptic movement, 87

D

Dispersion, 66

E

Ecclesiastes, 79
Ecclesiasticus, 78
Education, 38
Essenes, 108

G

Galileans, 115

H

Haggada, 162
Hellenism, 65, 83, 118
Herod the Great, 21
Herodians, 121
Historical conditions, 16, 49

J

Job, 78
Jubilees, 164

L

Law, the, 151
Logos, 80

M

Messianic hope, 30, 45

P

Pharisees, 133, 173
Philo, 72, 81
Psalms, 159
Psalms of Solomon, 139

R

Roman influence, 32

S

Sadducees, 123
Samaritans, 114
Scribes, 42, 70, 147, 173
Septuagint, 72
Social conditions, 32
Synagogue, 84, 104

T

Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs, 165

W

Wisdom, 74
Wisdom (Book of), 79

Z

Zadokites, 126
Zadokite Fragment, 126
Zealots, 116

PRINTED BY
WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, LIMITED,
LONDON AND BECCLES.

Date Due

BR
123
P947
1915

10191

Prideaux
The cradle of
Christianity

DATE

BR
123
P947
1915

10191

Prideaux
The cradle of Christianity

THE KING'S LIBRARY
3000018360

C0-AQV-133